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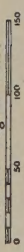
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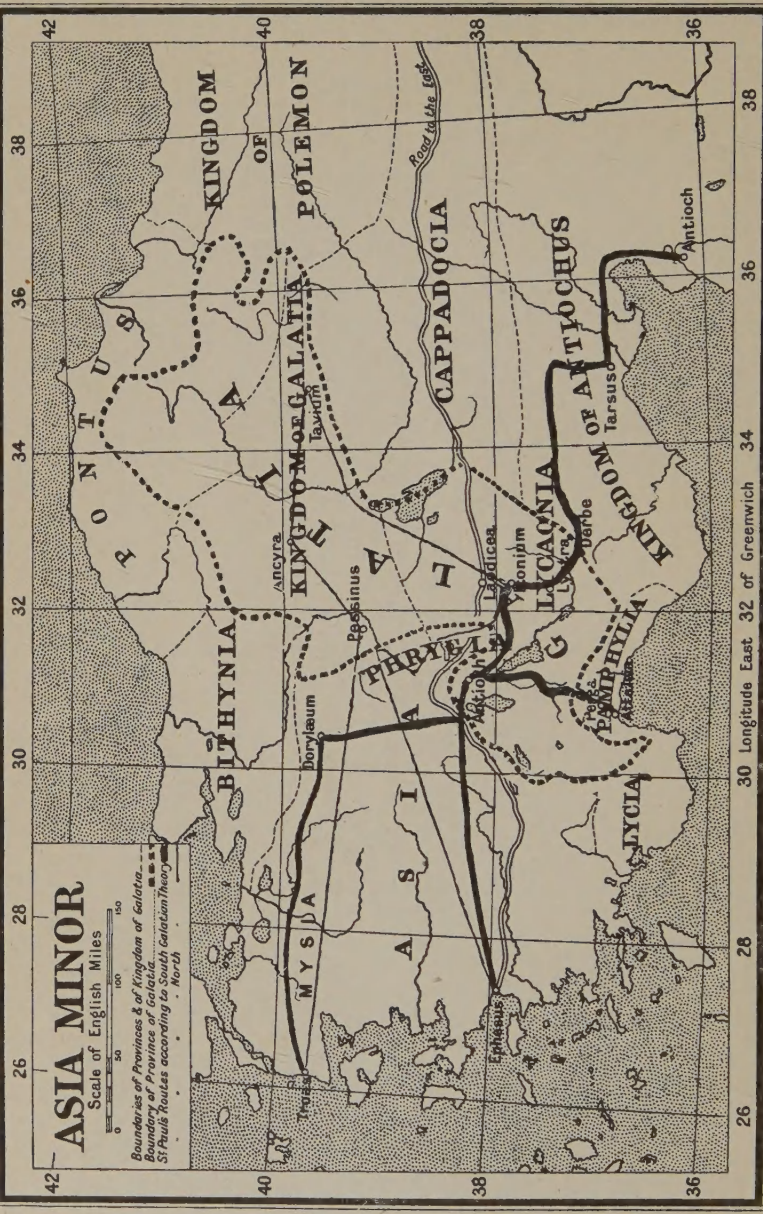
ASIA MINOR

Scale of English Miles



Boundaries of Provinces & of Kingdom of Galatia.
 Boundary of Province of Galatia.
 St Paul's Routes according to South Galatian Theory.

North



ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE
" TO THE
GALATIANS

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E4

BY THE REV.
CYRIL W. EMMET, M.A.
VICAR OF WEST HENDRED

WITH INDEX AND MAP

LONDON: ROBERT SCOTT
ROXBURGHE HOUSE
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MCMXII

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PREFACE

THE object of this Commentary, as of the series to which it belongs, is to treat the Epistle to the Galatians in a way which will be intelligible to the general reader. It assumes on his part no technical acquaintance with Theology, or with Greek, but at the same time the attempt has been made to discuss the questions which arise fully and frankly in the light of modern scholarship. Only when we realize what St. Paul's words meant to himself and his contemporaries can we understand what is their message for us to-day. It happens that this Epistle lends itself well to a non-technical treatment, since there are few passages in it where the reader of ordinary intelligence cannot form his own opinion, once he is put in possession of the necessary data. This is particularly the case with regard to the crucial question of the date of the Epistle and its relation to the narrative of the Acts. Perhaps this Commentary may justify its existence as being, so far as the writer is aware, the first which is based on the view that the Epistle was written before the Apostolic Council.

It is never easy for a commentator to state the exact measure of his indebtedness to earlier writers. If he has tried conscientiously to work through his material for himself, what he has been able to bring is inextricably blended with, and indeed grows out of, what he has learnt from others, and he can no longer clearly disentangle the two elements. But I would express my sense of the supreme value of Lightfoot's Commentary, and the debt I owe to it; side by side with this must stand the illuminating researches and suggestions of Sir William Ramsay, particularly with regard to the South Galatian theory, which he has done so much to commend to scholars. The exhaustive Commentary of Zahn, and the slighter work of Lietzmann have helped me much, and I have found Lukyn Williams, in the *Cambridge Greek Testament*, especially valuable for its illustrations from Jewish writings.

B. W. Bacon, in *The Bible for Home and School*, unorthodox as he is in more than one sense, is rich in suggestions from his very unconventionality and independence. And I have found myself referring again and again to Dr. Lake's recently published *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, in which he adopts, independently but on similar grounds, the view to which I myself had been led with regard to the date of the Epistle. To these and to many other writers, some of whom are named in the course of the Commentary, I would express my thanks.

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MAP

ASIA MINOR, showing the Journeys of St. Paul . . .	<i>Facing Title</i>
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INTRODUCTION

It may be well to begin by stating in outline the view which will be taken in this Commentary of the destination and date of the Epistle. We hold that it is addressed to the Churches of the South Galatian cities (Antioch in Pisidia, &c.), founded by St. Paul on his First Missionary Journey. The occasion for the letter was the activity of the Judaizing Christians, mentioned in Acts xv. 1 ff.; it is in every way probable that they extended their propaganda from Antioch in Syria to the Churches of Asia Minor, recently founded by St. Paul. The Epistle was written immediately, and is to be dated *before* the Council of Acts xv. 4 ff., being therefore the earliest of the extant Pauline Epistles. On no other view can we explain satisfactorily the omission in the Epistle of any reference to the discussions and decisions of that Council. The private interview between St. Paul and 'the three' in Gal. ii took place at the 'famine visit' of Acts xi. 30.

As this view is not that generally accepted, particularly with regard to the date of the Epistle, it will be necessary to justify it at some length.

1. To what Churches was the Epistle written? The difficulty of answering this question arises from the fact that in the first century A. D. *Galatia* was used in a double sense. In about 278 B. C. a Celtic race, known as Gauls, invaded Asia Minor and settled in the north-east of Phrygia, with Ancyra as their chief town, and the district thus occupied became the kingdom of Galatia. In the following century they extended their power southward at the expense of Lycaonia, probably as far as Iconium and Lystra. The details of the subsequent history are complicated and not always clear. The important points are: (1) Pompey, in his reorganization of the East in 64 B. C., attached Pisidia and the Lycaonian territory of Galatia to the province of Cilicia; (2) Antony altered the arrangement, and placed Pisidia and Lycaonia under separate kings, with their capitals at Antioch and Iconium; (3) Amyntas, who was king of Pisidia under this arrangement, ultimately became king both of Galatia proper and of the Galatian part of Lycaonia, extending his dominion to Derbe. From 36 B. C. to his death in 25 B. C. he therefore ruled over a large district in the centre of Asia Minor as *king of Galatia*. (4) At his death the Romans took over

his kingdom and formed it into the *province of Galatia*. Its southern boundaries were altered from time to time, but in the middle of the first century A. D. the province included the cities visited by St. Paul on his First Missionary Journey: viz. Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra, the first and last of these having become Roman colonies. These towns then had been Galatian in the political sense since the time of Amyntas; some of them had been connected with the Galatians, and partially occupied by them, at a very much earlier period.

There are then two theories as to what St. Paul means by 'Churches of Galatia'. Lightfoot¹ and others hold that he uses the word in the 'ethnographical' sense, and is writing to towns, such as Ancyra or Pessinus, situated in the *old* kingdom of Galatia; he is supposed to have visited this district on the Second and Third Journeys (Acts xvi. 6; xviii. 22, 23). This is known as the 'North Galatian theory'. (2) Ramsay and others maintain that Galatia is used in its 'political' sense, of the whole Roman province known by this name, and that the Epistle is written to the Churches of South Galatia, which were certainly founded by St. Paul on the First Journey (Acts xiii, xiv).

We naturally ask in what sense the word is used in other passages of the New Testament, and by contemporary writers. Putting aside for the moment the evidence of the Acts, which we shall consider later, the word is used in 1 Cor. xvi. 1; 2 Tim. iv. 10; 1 Pet. i. 1; unfortunately its use is more or less ambiguous in all these cases, and no conclusion can be drawn with safety. Again, examples of both meanings are quoted from other writers; we may note, however, that Pliny, Tacitus, and Ptolemy all undoubtedly use 'Galatia' in the wider political sense. There seems indeed to be no conclusive evidence of the use of the term 'Galatians' in this sense, but analogy is in its favour. All the inhabitants of Africa were called *Afri*, or of Hispania Baetica *Baetici*, though by race they may have been Greeks, Carthaginians, or members of native tribes. In Acts xx. 4 Trophimus of Ephesus is called an Asian, and Aristarchus of Thessalonica a Macedonian (xix. 29). If then, as can hardly be denied, St. Paul could have called the Churches of South Galatia 'the churches of Galatia' (Gal. i. 2), he could certainly have gone on to speak of their members as 'Galatians' (iii. 1). There was in fact no

¹ The mere fact that Lightfoot's name may be quoted on this side may seem to some to be almost decisive, but we must remember that much new light has been thrown on the subject since he wrote, especially by archaeological research; see on this point Ramsay, *Galatians*, pp. 3 ff. Moffat, *Introd. to the Lit. of the N.T.*, p. 90 f., gives a list of the names which may be quoted on either side.

other single term which would describe the mixed population of these cities ; they included Phrygians, Lycaonians, Galatians [by race], Roman soldiers, Greeks, Jews, and so on. It is a mistake to suppose that the name would have been derogatory ; on the contrary, it implied a position in the great Roman Empire, which the inhabitants of Asia Minor would feel not as a badge of subjection, but as a mark of honour. The national designation Phrygian was a synonym for slave, and Lycaonian stood for a robber.¹

It is therefore probable that, if St. Paul had written a letter to the towns visited on the First Missionary Journey, he would have addressed them by the terms actually used in the Epistle to the Galatians. We must accordingly look at the inherent probabilities of the case, and compare the data of the Epistle with the narrative of Acts.

(1) We start from the admitted fact that St. Paul did found Churches in South Galatia. As the firstfruits of his independent missionary activity, their future welfare must have interested him closely. Yet on the North Galatian theory, they are never once referred to in his Epistles ; he wrote letters to each of the other groups of Churches which he founded, but these are, so far as we know, entirely ignored. They are revisited on the Second Journey, and then drop out of the story altogether. In their place we have the shadowy Churches of North Galatia, of which Acts tells us not a single name, nor the minutest detail attached to the circumstances of their founding. It is certainly *a priori* more reasonable to suppose that the Epistle is addressed to the Churches which had occupied so much of St. Paul's attention, and which St. Luke regards as so important.

When we compare the narrative of Acts with the Epistle we find that on the South Galatian theory each illustrates the other in a sufficiently remarkable way : e. g. the mention of Barnabas as well known (ii. 1), miracles (iii. 5), persecutions (iii. 4, v. 11, vi. 12), the enthusiastic reception of St. Paul as 'an angel of God' (iv. 14 ff.) ; see the notes on these passages. Again, as Ramsay has pointed out (*Gal.*, pp. 399-401), we find striking coincidences between the teaching and language of the Epistle and St. Paul's sermon in South Galatian Antioch (Acts xiii. 16 ff.) : e. g. the stress on the 'seed' (v. 23) and 'promise' (vv. 23, 32), both prominent in Galatians ; 'the fulness of time' (Gal. iv. 4 ; cf. Acts xiii. 27, 33) ; 'the tree' = the cross (Gal. iii. 13 [not elsewhere in St. Paul] ; Acts xiii. 29). And

¹ 'The greater the diversity of nationality in a Christian community, the more natural it was in addressing them to designate them by the customary name of the political division where they lived, which was a neutral term.' Zahn, *Introduction to the N. T.*, i, p. 175.

Acts xiii. 38, 39 would serve as a good summary of the Epistle itself; 'justify' occurs nowhere else in the Acts. Of course, it is true that we must not treat the sermon as a shorthand report of St. Paul's words, and that it is typical of teaching given not only at Antioch, but presumably at other places too. But none the less the coincidences are significant, especially in view of St. Paul's claim that in the Epistle he is only reaffirming the teaching he had already given to his readers (i. 6-9, v. 21).

Again, what are the inherent probabilities with regard to the activity of the Judaizers, whose propaganda was the direct cause of the writing of the Epistle? We know from Acts xv. 1 ff. that they were especially active in Antioch in Syria at the close of the First Missionary Journey. Their fears and hostility had been stirred by St. Paul's recent success among the Gentiles, and their obvious policy would be to send their emissaries at once by the direct road through the Cilician Gates to the easily accessible towns of South Galatia. We know from Acts that there was a strong Jewish element in them; the Judaizers would readily find sympathizers, and they would be carrying the war at once into the sphere influenced by St. Paul. Their policy was to stop the mischief before it spread farther. This view is certainly more probable than the suggestion, required by the alternative theory, that at some unknown period they made a special propaganda in the distant towns of North Galatia.

(2) Did St. Paul in fact ever visit North Galatia? The only evidence that he did so is derived from two phrases in Acts, both of which are capable of another interpretation.

(a) In Acts xvi. 6 we read (at the commencement of the Second Journey), 'They went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia'. There is some doubt whether we should read 'they went through' (*διήλθον*), or 'having gone through' (*διελθόντες*). As the former reading is the *harder*, from the point of view of the South Galatian theory, we will assume it to be correct. What are we to understand by 'the region of Phrygia and Galatia' (*τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*)? The fact that the definite article is not repeated suggests that the phrase means 'the Phrygian and Galatic district', *Φρυγίαν* being an adjective. It then refers to the district which is both Phrygian and Galatian, i.e. the part of Phrygia which belonged to the province of Galatia. Galen speaks of *Phrygia Asiana*, i.e. the part of Phrygia belonging to the province of Asia; and the phrase *Phrygia Galatica* occurs, according to a probable emendation, in a catalogue of Martyrs (see Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 313). At any rate, we find

phrases such as Pontus Galaticus, Pontus Polemoniachus, Lycaonia Antiochiana, describing the parts of Pontus or Lycaonia which belonged to Galatia, or to the Kingdoms of Polemon or Antiochus. On the analogy of such phrases we are justified in adopting Ramsay's explanation of St. Luke's expression, an expression which would indeed be most strange and unnatural if he merely meant to imply that St. Paul had gone through Phrygia and then through Galatia. Further, an inscription from Antioch speaks of a 'centurion of the region', showing that the Latin *regio* was the name used in Galatia for a subdivision, or district of the province; the word used by St. Luke (χώρα) is the natural translation of this, while, on the other hand, it is not the word he uses elsewhere for *province*.

It is probable then that Acts xvi. 6 does not mention a visit to *North* Galatia at all, but describes a journey through the Phrygo-Galatic district, in which Pisidian Antioch, and probably Iconium, lay. In xvi. 1 St. Paul is at Lystra, whence he probably goes to Iconium. His purpose is to preach in Asia, i.e. practically Ephesus; and the natural route from Iconium would be to take the road which lay to the north, and which would have quickly brought him into Phrygia *Asiana*. He is prevented from doing this (hence the aorist participle 'being forbidden', which can quite well describe a prohibition given at the time), and keeps to a more southerly road, leading westward to Antioch. By this road he in fact passed through the Phrygo-Galatic region, and avoided for the time the province of Asia; from Antioch he goes north to Dorylaion, making for Bithynia, with Mysia on his left.¹

(δ) The next passage happily need not detain us so long. At the commencement of the Third Journey we are told that St. Paul left Syrian Antioch and 'went through the region of Galatia and Phrygia' (τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν), Acts xviii. 23. The change of phrase from Acts xvi. 6 is at first puzzling, the order of the two districts being reversed. What happened was this: St. Paul travelled to Derbe, where he entered Lycaonia Galatica; thence via Lystra to Iconium, where he entered Phrygia Galatica; either at Laodicea or Antioch he entered Phrygia *Asiana*: the journey therefore lay partly through districts of South Galatia, and partly through the two Phrygias, and is correctly and succinctly described by St. Luke.

The explanation of these passages is necessarily somewhat complicated, and requires a careful study of the map and the subdivisions of the provinces.

¹ See map. Lake, *o. c.* p. 258, has a very clear statement of this view.

For our purpose the main points are the following : (a) In the narratives both of the Second and Third Journeys St. Luke's language is capable of a reasonable interpretation as describing a journey through the towns of South Galatia ; (b) the phrases are not those which would naturally be used to describe journeys through the old kingdom of North Galatia ; (c) the *a priori* probabilities are all in favour of the former view : it takes St. Paul through the important towns where he has already founded Churches, and which lie on the direct road to Ephesus, his ultimate objective on the second occasion. The long détour to the north takes him entirely out of his way, more particularly on the Third Journey. Without exaggerating the barbarism and isolation of the North Galatian towns, that district is not one which he would naturally select as a field for his labours ; his policy was always to keep to the main roads and the great centres of civilization.

Finally, it has not always been remembered that those who still think that St. Luke describes journeys to North Galatia, are not therefore compelled to assume that the Epistle to the Galatians was necessarily addressed to the places visited on those occasions. St. Paul did unquestionably visit South Galatia, and remembering the wide use of the term Galatia in contemporary writers, he must not be assumed to mean by it exactly the same as St. Luke is supposed on this theory to mean by the 'Galatic region'. St. Paul *may* have travelled through North Galatia on his Second and Third Journeys, and yet have addressed his Epistle to the Churches founded on the First Journey.

2. **Date.**¹ The question of the identity of the Galatian Churches is interesting in itself, as affecting the background of the Epistle, but its real importance lies in its bearing on the date. For on the date we assign to the Epistle depends the possibility of reconciling the narrative of the Acts with St. Paul's story of his movements in Gal. i, ii ; and on this hangs the question whether we are justified in regarding the Acts as a reliable contemporary historical document. Happily, the points which arise are not so technical as those discussed in the last section, and the question is one for the general reader as much as for the specialist.

On the assumption that Gal. iv. 13 implies that St. Paul had paid two visits to Galatia, we are compelled, if we accept the North Galatian theory,

¹ I venture to repeat in this section the arguments I have already urged in an article, *Galatians the Earliest of the Pauline Epistles*, published in the *Expositor*, March 1910, and reprinted in *The Eschatological Question in the Gospels and other Studies in Recent New Testament Criticism*. The question is argued independently, but on similar lines, by Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*.

to place the Epistle after Acts xviii. 23 ; i.e. during, or after, the Third Missionary Journey. But on the South Galatian theory earlier dates are open to us.

The crucial question is, whether we can date the Epistle *before* the Apostolic Council of Acts xv. Unless we can do this, it is quite impossible to give any satisfactory explanation of the entire omission in the Epistle of any reference to its decrees. It will be remembered that according to the narrative of Acts, the Council dealt expressly with the very question which St. Paul discusses in this Epistle, and decided that Gentile Christians were not to be circumcised, and need not keep the Jewish law ; according to the usually accepted text of the 'Decrees' certain conditions of a not very stringent nature were laid down. We must realize the situation implied in the Epistle. It is not, like Romans, a more or less academic treatise, justifying an already existing state of affairs, and working out its implications. It is a religious pamphlet, issued red-hot in the midst of a burning controversy, dealing with a critical situation. The poison of the Judaizing heresy has spread rapidly, and the mischief must be stopped immediately. That is clearly the purpose of the letter. Is it, then, conceivable that while St. Paul urges every possible argument, personal, historical, and doctrinal, he should entirely ignore that which would be the most telling and decisive of all, namely the fact that the Mother-church of Jerusalem had formally and in full synod decided in his favour the very point for which he is contending ? Yet there is no reference to the decision of the Council from the beginning to the end of the Epistle. Even if, as is most improbable, those are right who identify the visit to Jerusalem of Gal. ii. with that of Acts xv, still St. Paul says nothing either of the Council or its resolutions ; he refers expressly to a private informal interview between himself and the three, and uses language which excludes anything further. The explanation is sometimes given that the decrees of the Council were only local and temporary. This is only partially true, and is altogether irrelevant. It is only partially true, because it does not cover the central conclusion of the Council, that circumcision and the Jewish law were an unnecessary burden for Gentiles. And it is irrelevant with regard to the conditions (abstinence from things offered to idols, &c.), since even if they were 'local', they applied to the very Churches to which St. Paul was writing, and even if they were 'temporary', they certainly held good for the years immediately following their promulgation.

One of two conclusions must be drawn from St. Paul's silence. Either St. Luke's account is wrong, and the whole story of the Council is an

invention (or at least it is seriously misplaced), or else this Epistle must be dated from a period before the Council.

The former view is, in fact, taken by most of those who assign a late date to Galatians. Assuming it was written after the supposed Council, they admit that St. Luke's version of this cannot possibly stand.¹ Apart from any question of inspiration, this is not a verdict which we are justified in passing on any historian whose credit stands so high as St. Luke's, unless we are driven to it by the evidence. The alternative theory solves the difficulty and vindicates the accuracy both of the apostle and the historian.

We must, then, look carefully at the narrative of Gal. i, ii, with the view of ascertaining whether it is in any way inconsistent with the early date which we urge. In spite of minor discrepancies, we have no hesitation in identifying the first visit to Jerusalem (Gal. i. 18) with that recorded by St. Luke in Acts ix. 26 ff. Then comes a reference to a long period of preaching in Syria and Cilicia, which corresponds to Acts ix. 30 ; xi. 25, 26. In Gal. ii the narrative is continued with the account of a second visit to Jerusalem. Unless there is any good reason to the contrary, we naturally identify this with the second visit recorded by St. Luke in Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, the 'famine-visit'. It is urged, however, that St. Paul omitted to mention this visit as being unimportant and leading to no interview with the apostles, and passed on at once to his *third* visit at the time of the Council (Acts xv. 2 ff.). Neither of the supposed reasons for omission will bear examination. (a) The point of St. Paul's retrospect is to emphasize his independence of the apostles and the Jerusalem Church, by explaining how little he had seen of them in the past. To omit any visit, however unimportant, would not only be a lapse from accuracy, in a matter where he has been at pains to vindicate his truthfulness by an oath (i. 20); it would offer an opportunity to his opponents of which they would readily avail themselves. A parenthesis would have been sufficient to prevent misunderstanding, and St. Paul is not afraid of parentheses.

(b) The assumption that there were no apostles in Jerusalem during the famine-visit depends on the mention of 'presbyters' in Acts xi. 30, and the supposed probability that *all* the apostles had fled from Jerusalem on account of Herod's persecution. The fact, however, that the alms were handed over to the elders, and not to the apostles, merely carries out the

¹ e.g. Moffat, *o.c.*, p. 100 : 'Acts xv certainly presents a modified, and even in some respects an unhistorical, account'; or see Schmiedel in *Enc. Bibl.* 1596-1616, and Bacon's Commentary.

principle of Acts vi, and in no way implies that there were no apostles to receive them. It is indeed most improbable that they all, including St. Peter, were absent during the whole time of the visit. If indeed we follow the narrative of Acts, and regard it as arranged in strict chronological order, St. Paul and Barnabas apparently reached Jerusalem *before* the persecution and had every opportunity of seeing the apostles. But probably the order is not strictly observed. St. Luke is passing backwards and forwards from Antioch to Jerusalem. He brings his Antioch story up to A.D. 46, the probable date of the famine, and then resumes the thread of the Jerusalem narrative with the events leading up to the death of Agrippa I in A.D. 44. Hence, even if we assume that the apostles did leave Jerusalem—it is improbable in itself, and there is no evidence that even St. Peter did so (xii. 17)—some at least must have returned by A.D. 46–47, the date of the visit: the persecution ceased with the death of Herod. Now if there were any apostles in Jerusalem at the time of the visit of the representatives of the Antioch Church, it was inevitable that some such interview as that narrated in Gal. ii should take place. If we had no record of it, we should be obliged to assume it. For Barnabas had actually been sent to Antioch by the Jerusalem Church to superintend the rapidly growing community, with particular reference to the preaching to Gentiles (Acts xi. 19 ff.).¹ Presumably he was to report on the whole question, and it is difficult to believe that on his return to Jerusalem no one took the trouble to receive his report, or discuss the matter with him. It is sometimes urged that the Gentile question had not arisen at this early stage. This is, however, contradicted by the notices of Acts xi, and by the story of Cornelius, as well as by *a priori* probabilities. As soon as ever wandering evangelists left Jewish soil, and addressed themselves to Gentile hearers, the ‘Gentile question’ was bound to arise. St. Paul himself had been preaching actively and successfully for some time (Gal. i. 22, 23; ii. 9; Acts xi. 26). And the sort of discussion implied in Gal. ii is exactly what we should expect at this early stage. It is private, and it deals only with the general principle that St. Paul is to be free to preach to the Gentile world. The exact implications of the arrangement are not clearly drawn; details are left for a further settlement, which in fact takes place at the public and formal Council of Acts xv. (see note on ii. 9).

The alternative is to identify the visits of Gal. ii and Acts xv. The objections have been already indicated: (1) Why is the visit of Acts xi. omitted? (2) Why is no reference made to the Council? For it must be acknowledged that Gal. ii certainly gives no description of the Council,

¹ ‘Greeks’ (i.e. Gentiles), not ‘Grecian Jews’, is certainly the right reading in *v.* 20.

but at best *only of something which took place at the same time*, and in words which imply clearly that a private consultation with the three was the only important thing which took place. On these points, and on minor objections, especially that raised by the dispute with Peter at Antioch, see the notes on ch. ii.

It may be said with confidence that the only real support for this view is derived from the *chronology*, and it will be necessary to look at this point carefully. There are two notes of time in Galatians. In i. 11 we read, 'Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem'; and in ii. 1, 'Then after the space of fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem'. The question is whether the 'fourteen years' are to be reckoned from the conversion, or from the former visit. The two expressions are clearly parallel; in the first the 'after three years' seems to be reckoned from the conversion, and not from the return from Arabia to Damascus, which is the last-mentioned movement. It is therefore quite possible that the 'after fourteen years' is to be calculated on the same principle, and that all through St. Paul is *dating his movements from his conversion*, which he takes as his starting-point. In this case we only require 'fourteen years' from the conversion to the famine-visit, and the chronological difficulty disappears.

We have, however, to reckon with the possibility that the 'fourteen years' are to be reckoned from the 'three years'. Even so, it is still open to us to date Gal. ii at the time of the famine. We must remember that according to the old method of reckoning time, fractions of a day or year were often spoken of as wholes; e. g. 'after three days' might only mean from late on Friday afternoon till early on Sunday morning, to take the example familiar to us from the story of our Lord's death and resurrection; (for other instances see Ramsay, *Hastings's Dict. of the Bible*, v, p. 474). Accordingly, we have no right to add the three years and the fourteen together, and to speak of an interval of seventeen years, as is usually done. The true state of the case may be best represented as follows:—

'after three years' = $x + 1 + y$;

'after fourteen years' = $(1 - y) + 12 + z$;

where x, y, z are unknown numbers of months. The total period is therefore 14 years + $(x + z)$ months, where x and z may be quite small. To put it in another way, December, 1909, to March, 1911, might be the first period, and March, 1911, to January, 1924, the second, the whole period from December, 1909, to January, 1924, being only just over fourteen years. Now according to Turner (*Hastings's Dict. of the Bible*, i, p. 416) the famine of Acts xi is to be dated not earlier than A. D. 46, probably in A. D. 47, so that

on this reckoning the conversion may be placed in A.D. 31 or A. D. 32, a by no means impossible date. Different authorities in fact place it anywhere from A.D. 30 (Harnack) to A.D. 36 (Turner), but their calculations are almost entirely based on the interpretations they give to these passages of Galatians, and do not rest on independent data¹. To quote Dr. Bartlett's summary (*Enc. Brit.* 11th Ed., s. v. Paul), 'on the chronology from Paul's conversion down to the Relief Visit (Acts xi. 30), c. 45-47, hardly two scholars agree, but on the whole the tendency is to put his conversion earlier than was formerly usual.'

We are justified therefore in concluding that the 'after fourteen years' of Gal. ii. 1 offers no serious objection to our dating the events of that chapter at the time of the 'famine-visit'. Where chronological indications are clear and indisputable, we are bound to consider them final and decisive; but where, as in this case, they are admittedly obscure and ambiguous, they should not be allowed to outweigh positive arguments drawn from other quarters.

Now if we can identify the visit of Gal. ii with that of Acts xi, the way is open to us to date the Epistle before the Council, and this we are bound to do. For if we put it later, though we are no longer troubled by the supposed omission of the famine-visit, or the difficulties of reconciling Gal. ii and Acts xv, we are still no nearer to an explanation of why St. Paul never refers to the Council or its decisions. The only satisfactory answer is that the letter was written after the close of the First Journey, and *before* the Council took place. In fact, if we had only the narrative of Acts to go on, this is the very setting we should at once choose for it. Acts xv. 1 tells us of the activity of the Judaizers at Antioch. As we have seen, it was the most natural thing in the world that they should extend their propaganda to the cities lately evangelized by St. Paul, where the strong and fanatical Jewish element, described in the narratives of Acts xiii, xiv, guaranteed a favourable soil. St. Luke describes the stay at Antioch after the First Journey as lasting 'no little time'; there is therefore room left for the Judaizers to visit Galatia. We have no right to assume that events summarized in a couple of verses all happened in a couple of weeks. St. Paul then, while he is himself engaged in the controversy at Antioch, hears of the defection of the Galatian Churches; it has happened quickly

¹ The conclusions in favour of a late date of the conversion drawn from the mention of Aretas in 2 Cor. xi. 32 are very precarious. It is argued on the evidence of coins that Aretas was not in possession of Damascus till A.D. 37. But the presence of the 'ethnarch of Aretas' does not imply that the city belonged to him; he was probably 'a representative of the Nabataean king who looked after the Arab element in Damascus, just as the ethnarch of Alexandria looked after Jewish interests' (Lake, *o. c.*, p. 323).

and has come as a surprise, as the Epistle itself shows. He cannot visit the scene himself (iv. 20), since he must go to Jerusalem. Accordingly, before he starts, or on the way (Lake), he writes this urgent letter. When the Council is over, he revisits the Churches at the first opportunity (xvi. 1-6), and explains its decisions, thus putting the finishing touch to the work begun by the Epistle. On this view the narratives of Acts and Galatians fit naturally into one another; there is no violent forcing or adroit manipulation required. Each story is taken at its face value, with its episodes in the order in which they are found. We are no longer troubled by the absence of any reference to the Council, since it has not yet taken place.

The presuppositions of the theory are (1) that the Churches addressed are those of South Galatia, and (2) that Gal. ii refers to the famine-visit of Acts xi. As we have seen, each of these positions has strong independent support.

It is certainly strange that this simple and satisfactory hypothesis has not yet been widely adopted, at any rate by those who have taken the preliminary steps involved in the adoption of the South Galatian theory, and the identification of Gal. ii and Acts i. The objections seem to be only three, none of them of serious weight.

(a) The words 'preached unto you the first time' (τὸ πρότερον), Gal. iv. 13, seem to imply *two* visits to Galatia. Are we not therefore bound to date the Epistle after the visit described in Acts xvi. 1-6? No; because on the First Journey St. Paul did in fact pay two visits to all the towns except Derbe, the farthest easterly point reached. He travelled back by the route he had come, staying long enough in each place to instruct converts and to appoint elders (xiv. 21 ff.). A lecturer who had travelled through various towns from London to York, and then back again, could certainly refer to circumstances attending his work on the first visit, or the first time.

It should be added that the Greek word translated 'the first time' may very possibly only mean *formerly*. This is indeed its usual meaning in the New Testament, though the context of no other passage in which it occurs is quite the same as this. If so, the reference to the two visits disappears (see Lake, *o.c.*, p. 266).

(b) It is urged that the close connexion between Galatians and Romans, and to a lesser degree 1 and 2 Corinthians, in language, style, and subject-matter can only be explained on the usual theory, which supposes them all to have been written within a few months of each other, some time during the Third Journey. No one will deny the fact of the resemblance; it is startlingly close, and justifies our treating these four Epistles as a single group, when we are studying St. Paul's thought and theology. But it does

not necessarily imply that they were all written during the same year. The difference in tone between Galatians and Romans is suggestive. The one is the hasty sketch, thrown out on the spur of the moment in view of an urgent crisis ; the other is the carefully matured philosophical development of the theme. It has in view not so much the practical question whether Gentiles ought in fact to be circumcised (that question seems to be regarded as settled), but the theoretical justification of the position, its presuppositions and corollaries, as well as the difficulties involved in the apparent rejection of the Jewish nation. In the words of Sanday and Headlam (*Romans*, p. xxxiii), it is 'the ripened fruit of the thoughts and struggles of the eventful years by which it had been preceded', and 'belongs to the later reflective stage of the controversy'. The similarity between the two Epistles really proves nothing as to date. The present writer, in discussing this question of the date of Galatians, finds himself instinctively using the same arguments and the same language that he used when he wrote nearly three years previously ; and it is a common experience that any one who writes or preaches on the same subject frequently, even with considerable intervals, slips almost unconsciously into a stereotyped form of treatment. It requires a deliberate effort to attain variety and freshness of language. It is to be remembered that St. Paul must have been continually discussing this question of the relation of the Gentiles to the law ; his method of presenting his case and the arguments by which he supported it would inevitably become more or less fixed, and there is no difficulty in supposing that in Romans he repeated and developed what he had written several years before to the Galatians.

Of course the question arises why he should have considered it advisable to elaborate his argument and send it to the Roman Church. But this point concerns the commentator on the latter Epistle, and does not affect our view of Galatians. The answer is not made any easier by supposing that the two letters belong to the same period.

It may be pointed out that Dr. Lake maintains, on grounds based on textual criticism, that Romans was in fact originally written as a circular letter addressed to mixed Churches, which St. Paul had not visited, at the same time as Galatians. This theory must be judged on its own merits, and is in no way a necessary corollary of the early date of Galatians.

(c) The suggestion that by the time of the Council St. Paul's views could not have reached the stage of development shown in Galatians has very little to commend it. There lies behind a considerable period of thought and meditation, as well as of active work. All the evidence goes to show

that St. Paul felt from the first that his special mission was to the Gentile world (see note on i. 16); and he must have thought out the lines in which he intended to justify their free admission into the Church. The speech at Antioch on the First Journey summarizes the point of view taken in Galatians (see above, pp. xi f.), and there is no reason to regard it as an anachronism. The fact that there is a different tone in the Epistles to Thessalonica proves nothing. The Judaizing heresy had not spread there, and so he can ignore it. But it had already arisen in an acute form elsewhere, since these letters are later than the events of Acts xv. If he does not deal with the question when there was no need, that is no argument against his having done so in an earlier letter written to a Church where the difficulty had arisen in an acute form.

Alternative Theories of the Date. If the early date is rejected, the Epistle may be placed at various points in the Apostle's career; decisive indications are entirely absent, and it really does not greatly matter what date is chosen, since they all leave unsolved the fundamental problem of St. Paul's silence as to the Council. On the North Galatian theory it is placed any time after Acts xviii. 23, on the way to, or at, Ephesus, or during the stay in Macedonia or Corinth, Acts xx. 1 (Ltf.). On the South Galatian theory it may be supposed to have been written during the Second Journey from Macedonia, or Corinth (Zahn). This view places it before 1 Thessalonians, and makes it the earliest of the Pauline Epistles, but not written before the Council. Or it may be placed between the Second and Third Journeys (Ramsay), or somewhere in the Third Journey, as on the North Galatian theory.

3. The Law and the Gospel. In order to understand the gravity of the difficulty raised by the relation between Jew and Gentile in the Primitive Church, it is necessary to realize as vividly as possible what the orthodox Jew had been brought up to think of the Law. The best way to grasp the full significance of the Epistle to the Galatians is to read some such description of the Jewish point of view as that given by Oesterley and Box in their *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, ch. vii. The Law was the expression of the Wisdom of God, and pre-existed from eternity; it is the final revelation of God for all time (Wisdom xviii. 4; Baruch iv. 1). 'The Prophets and the Hagiographa will cease, but the five books of *Torah* will not cease' (*Megillah* i. 7). It is the supreme means of salvation, and brings eternal life. It was observed by the patriarchs Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, before it was revealed to the nation at large; nay, the Almighty Himself studied and obeyed it—'there are twelve hours in the day; during

the first three the Holy One sits down and occupies Himself with the *Torah*.⁷ Israel was the chosen people, simply because it alone had accepted the law. The decisive moment in its history was the giving of the covenant at Sinai; then were celebrated the nuptials which made it for ever the spouse of Jehovah.

Each one of these beliefs is directly impugned by St. Paul. The law, so far from being pre-existent, is subsequent to the promise; so far from being eternal, it was only intended to cover the interval until the coming of Christ; it is a supervising slave whose function ceases when he has brought the learner to Christ. It is hardly a covenant at all, nor was it directly given by God; perhaps it is scarcely divine in the strict sense. Instead of life, it brought death, and God had another chosen people whose privileges and position were entirely independent of the law.

We do not wonder then that St. Paul appeared to his nation as the traitor and arch-renegade, and that his teaching and work were opposed by every method, fair and foul. We can understand why it is that his last appearance in Jerusalem is the signal for an outburst of fanaticism, while the ordinary Christian community in that city is allowed to live in peace.

Again, the Jew who had become a Christian had many arguments to urge on his side against the Pauline point of view. He had inherited a lofty estimate of the law and the Old Testament; it was bound up with the Church and nation to which he belonged. He could point to an immemorial tradition and to a revelation from Jehovah. The law of the Church and the law of God seemed both to be on his side in his protest against the dangerous latitudinarian tendencies of the apostle's policy, which watered down the divine revelation in order to win the weak. Better a small and strictly consistent Church than one which included all sorts and conditions of men at the cost of fatal concessions. Apparently, he could appeal to the teaching of Jesus Himself. It is not indeed easy to define His exact attitude towards the law. But at any rate He had never spoken definitely and unambiguously of the abolition of circumcision or of the passing of Judaism and its legal system. He had come to fulfil it, and had spoken with respect of Moses, the law, and the prophets.

No doubt we, looking back on His teaching in the light of history, can see that it had another side. He had not only attacked the oral traditions of the Scribes, but He had claimed to be above Moses, and to set aside his legislation where it seemed inadequate, as in the law of revenge or divorce; He had taught that the gospel of the kingdom was something greater than the law and prophets (Luke xvi. 16), and apart from definite pronouncements, the principles He laid down implied a religion independent of the religious

customs of any one nation. But all this was hardly clear at the time, as we see from the attitude of the original apostles. If we enter sympathetically into the point of view of St. Paul's opponents, we realize that they had much to say for themselves. Many of them were acting in all good conscience ; religion and prejudice were so closely connected that it was impossible to distinguish sharply between them.

How then did the change come about by which the Church instead of remaining a sect within the Jewish nation, tied to its law and national hopes, became a world-wide organization with a message which could appeal to men of every race ? We must recognize in the first place that though the attitude sketched above represented the standpoint of orthodox Judaism, there was already within its borders a more liberal school of thought with a wider outlook on the world and its needs. In the communities of the Dispersion Jews lived, often on terms of intimacy, side by side with men of all races and creeds. Many of these were attracted by the Jew's doctrine of the One God, and by his lofty ethical system. But they cared little or nothing for his peculiar national customs, and the elaborate ceremonies and restrictions of his law. Hence arose the 'God-fearers' of whom we read so often in the Acts, Gentiles who had not become proselytes, but had attached themselves to Judaism in varying degrees of strictness. Among the Jews themselves there was considerable variety of opinion as to how much was required of proselytes, or possible proselytes. Some at least were of opinion that the way of approach should be made as easy as possible. In Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 2, 4, we read of a discussion whether a certain King Izates, who had become a convert, need be circumcised or not. There is evidence that in the first century A. D. R. Joshua held that baptism was enough without circumcision, while R. Eliezer advocated circumcision without baptism. Philo, who himself allegorizes the law, speaks of a circle of Jews who interpreted it in a symbolic sense only, thus making the literal observance of its ceremonial requirements, such as the sabbath, feasts, and circumcision, of no importance. The fourth book of the *Sibylline Oracles*, which dates from the latter part of the first century A. D., promises the kingdom to those who worship the true God, abandon certain gross sins, and are baptized.¹

The significance of these facts lies in this, that they show that there was already within Judaism, and particularly the Judaism of the Dispersion, a line of thought which prepared the way for the liberalizing policy of what we may call the Pauline party ; we remember that St. Stephen, who was its

¹ For these references I am indebted to Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 24 ff.

first mouthpiece, was a Hellenist. If we ask how the policy triumphed, our answer must be that it was through the logic of experience. As the Church grew and proved its power to attract those who were not Jews, and especially the God-fearers, it became more and more difficult to maintain the primitive point of view of the paramount importance of the law. The process began with the successes which attended the work of Stephen and Philip, the foremost representatives of the more liberal Hellenist section of the Church. The story of St. Peter and Cornelius turns on the point that it was proved by the unmistakable action of God that an uncircumcised God-fearer could in fact receive the Spirit, and was therefore essentially capable of entering into the privileges of the Messianic Kingdom (see Acts x. 44 ff., xi. 17). Then again, owing to the action of unnamed preachers, the Church spread to Antioch, and experience proved that converted Gentiles could become good Christians. Barnabas is sent by the Jerusalem Church to investigate the development, and in Gal. ii we have the account of the report he brought back, in company with St. Paul, and its acceptance by the apostles. They recognized that in fact the same power which wrought for Peter, wrought also for them for the conversion of the Gentiles, and that the grace of God was clearly and obviously on their side. Then comes the First Missionary Journey, again unmistakably blessed by God, and justified by success, and at the Council it is the fact of this success, and of the manifest signs of the divine approval (Acts xv. 12), which compels the decision that circumcision is not necessary to salvation. The fact is first proved by experience, and afterwards endorsed by a formal recognition.

The real explanation then of the triumph of the liberal policy is that it worked. And this is in fact the starting-point of St. Paul's argument in Galatians: 'Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law or by the hearing of faith?' (iii. 2). They had 'begun in the Spirit;' God had bountifully supplied to them the Spirit, testifying to His presence by miracles, and this when no question of the observance of the law had yet arisen. It is the argument from religious experience, the witness of spiritual facts. This argument has also its negative side. St. Paul, looking back on his experience of the law and its results, realizes that it does not in fact bring life and peace. It cannot in practice meet the spiritual needs even of the one nation which is devoted to it. He remembers what he has gone through in his own case, the hopeless unending struggle between the spirit and the flesh, the obvious failure of his attempt to win righteousness through the keeping of the law, and the fact that the moment he surrendered himself to Christ he found himself possessed by a higher power, which gave him freely

and at once all he had sought for in vain before. And he argues that his own experience is that of his converts and of the Gentile Church as a whole. He is a Pragmatist ; the law does not work well ; faith in Christ does ; and its results are proved in practice to be quite independent of circumcision.

We fail to do justice to St. Paul unless we realize the true basis of his faith. He was a man of religious genius and inspiration ; that is, he was capable of profound religious experiences, and saw things by a spiritual intuition or instinct before he came to think them out and justify them by argument. It often happens that our beliefs are much sounder than the proofs by which we seek to establish them. Our faith in God, Christ, and a future life rests on hidden bases in the heart, and on spiritual insight, which we find it hard to put into words. A sincere believer in God will often put forward very inadequate arguments if he is challenged to prove His existence. There is, we must admit, something of this in Galatians. The arguments for the wider view of Christianity are not always entirely convincing. No doubt we may state in a fairly reasonable form the principles underlying the proofs based on the curse attached to one who hangs on a tree, the 'seed' opposed to 'seeds', the law given after the promise, the two covenants, Isaac and Ishmael, Hagar and Sinai, and so forth. But they do not really appeal to us ; they are not the real grounds on which we believe that Christianity is independent of, and superior to, Judaism. And we may say with confidence that they are not the real grounds on which St. Paul and his converts believed. Their faith was based on personal experience ; the proofs are afterthoughts by which he meets his adversaries on their own ground, and applies the methods of the Rabbinical dialectic in which he and they had been trained.

The very fact that the Judaizers' position was theoretically so strong, shows that it could only be undermined by this logic of fact and experience. The law failed practically to meet the needs even of the Jew, much more of the Gentile. Where it failed, Christ succeeded. If this was clear to St. Paul, it is far more clear to us, with centuries of varied Christian experience to look back upon. We know that he was right, not because all his arguments are conclusive, but because facts and experience are on his side.

4. The Basis of St. Paul's Theology. The principle which gives us the key to St. Paul's attitude towards the law, helps us also to understand his theology, as expressed in this Epistle and elsewhere. He does not, in fact, start with theology at all, but with religion, with what he had known in his own personal experience. The essence of his conversion was an absolute surrender to Christ as his Lord, not merely an intellectual

conviction that He was risen and was after all the Messiah of his nation. However much the way for this conversion may have been prepared in the subconscious regions of his mind (see note on i. 12), it came to all appearance as a complete reversal of his former point of view—a volcanic upheaval reaching to the depths of his being, and leaving him a changed, or new, creature. His own view of its results is best expressed in his doctrine of the mystical union of the believer with Christ, which is summed up in Gal. ii. 20, a passage absolutely central to his teaching (see notes ad. loc.).

This is what he means by **Faith**. It is not a theoretical belief about God or Christ, as it is to St. James; still less does it mean to him what it came too often to mean in later theology (e.g. in the Athanasian Creed), the acceptance of an elaborate *corpus* of doctrine, or of a 'scheme of salvation'; whatever may be the arguments in favour of faith in this sense, at any rate we have no right to support it by Pauline texts in which the word occurs. Nor, again, does he use 'faith' in its Old Testament sense of a trustful confidence that God will abide by the covenant which He has made with His people. It implies rather a personal surrender of the whole self to a higher power, so that the believer becomes completely identified with Christ. He is in Christ, and Christ in him; to St. Paul this is not an extravagant metaphor; it expresses a fact of spiritual experience.

Here also would seem to be the true explanation of what St. Paul says about **the Death of Christ and Justification**. We do not do justice to his thought if we interpret him as teaching that the believer is merely 'to rest in the finished work of Christ', and that he is justified on account of what Christ *has* done, and shelters himself behind Him. The essence of the matter is what Christ *does* in the believer. For, all the time, Christ and he are one. Christ's death avails for his justification, not because it is accepted by a 'legal fiction', but because the Christian is part of Christ, and shares, or even repeats, His dying in a mystical, and therefore absolutely real, sense.¹ This union is mediated by the sacraments, which are certainly to St. Paul more than mere symbols; see especially Romans vi, Gal. iii. 27.

¹ See further note on Justification, ii. 16. As is pointed out in the Commentary, we have probably to reckon with the influence of the Greek Mystery Religions, in which the initiate believed that he shared the life of his god, and even died and rose again with him. Schweitzer, however, in his recently published *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung*, pp. 141 ff., denies this influence altogether in the interests of his extreme eschatological theory. The question will probably be widely discussed in the near future.

Of course then, as St. Paul insists in Gal. v, faith must be an active principle; it goes almost without saying that the life of the Spirit must bring forth its fruits, and that the Christian must be a better man. Ethics are indeed absolutely fundamental to St. Paul; both in Romans and Galatians, as in every other Epistle, he insists on the practical results of the new life. At the same time he is insisting on what is to him a truism, simply because his experience of the new power has been so real and genuine that he can hardly conceive of it as being in any one without producing its obvious effects. In what he says then about **law and works** as opposed to **faith and grace**, he is in no way disparaging action, or exalting states of feeling at the expense of the practical life. He values action as much as St. James, or any orthodox Jew, and he would agree that the righteousness of the Christian must exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees. His objection to the legalist point of view is that it does not start far enough back. It begins with the outward action, the given written or traditional command, and tends to assume that man can keep the law, please God, and win life by his own efforts, if he will only try hard enough. His own experience, and he would add the experience of his race, contradicts this theory. We must go farther back to the principle of grace, the indwelling power of Christ. The man who has surrendered himself to these will not only be accounted righteous, he will inevitably become righteous. He will be free from the bondage of an external law, regulating his religious and secular life at every turn by a system of half-understood rules¹, but he will be under bondage to the law of love.

It is always something of a problem why St. Paul does not distinguish more clearly between the moral and the ceremonial law. We should expect him to use the language of most modern expounders of the Old

¹ The words of a Jew are worth noting in this connexion: 'Conduct, social and individual, moral and ritual, was regulated in the minutest details. As the Dayan M. Hyamson has said, the maxim *De minimis non curat lex* was not applicable to the Jewish law. This law was a system of opinion and of practice and of feeling in which the great principles of morality, the deepest concerns of spiritual religion, the genuinely essential requirements of ritual, all found a prominent place. To assert that Pharisaism included the small and excluded the great, that it enforced rules and forgot principles, that it exalted the letter and neglected the spirit, is a palpable libel. Pharisaism was founded on God. On this foundation was erected a structure which embraced the eternal principles of religion. But the system, it must be added, went far beyond this. It held that there was a right and a wrong way of doing things in themselves trivial. Prescription ruled in a stupendous array of matters which other systems deliberately left to the fancy, the judgement, the conscience of the individual. Law seized upon the whole life, both in its inward experiences and outward manifestations.' (Abrahams, *Judaism*, p. 14 f.)

Testament, the language indeed of the prophets and of Christ Himself, and to point out that the fault of the Judaizers was that they laid stress on the wrong things, tithing mint, anise, and cummin, and neglecting the weightier matters of the law; or were very punctilious about sabbath, sacrifices, and outward observances, while they were careless about the claims of social brotherhood. Implicitly indeed St. Paul does accept this position in his attitude towards externals such as meats, fasts, and holy-days, as compared with the love which is the fulfilment of the law.¹ But it does not satisfy him merely to draw a distinction between the two sorts of law, *if law is regarded in each case as the same principle applied to different classes of action*. He will not start with the principle of external obedience to any system, however noble and exalted. He must go back to the ultimate source, the change of the heart in the crucifixion of the flesh, the union with Christ in the new life, the possession of the whole personality by His Spirit. This makes all things possible, not because obedience is imposed from without, but because it is the inevitable result of what the man has become.

This, then, is the reason why St. Paul refuses to be drawn off into a discussion of the relative claims of a moral and a ceremonial law. And here, let it be emphasized once more, is the fundamental principle which lies behind his contrasts between law and grace, works and faith, flesh and the Spirit. The essence of the Gospel is a new relationship to God, mediated through Christ. This is expressed in a great variety of metaphors—redemption from slavery, the adoption or emancipation of sons, reconciliation, justification. Each of these is an analogy illustrating some side of the relationship, but breaking down if it is pressed to a logical conclusion, as though it were adequate to all the facts. They are points of view which expand the underlying principle of the mystical union with Christ.²

We see, then, that though we are no longer troubled with the claims of the Jewish law, the principles underlying the Epistle to the Galatians need continual emphasis in every age of the Church. It certainly cannot be said that they are always remembered to-day. We are always finding the truth of Harnack's dictum, that 'it is far easier to live under any authority, even the hardest, than in the freedom of the good'. For there is a constant temptation to put a system, an organization, a Book, in place of

¹ See v. 14; vi. 2.

² Modern theology has come to recognize the all-embracing importance of this principle; see, e.g., Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*; Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*; Gardner, *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*; cf. note on ii. 20.

the Person, and the personal relationships which constitute the true essence of Christianity. We are ready, as the Jew was ready, to rely too exclusively on the past and its traditions, assuming that they have said the last word, and forgetting the present working of the Spirit. Or we are inclined to confine the promises and the covenanted mercies of God to those who live within the pale of a special organization; those without we regard as 'sinners of the Gentiles', capable indeed of salvation if they will submit to the yoke, some of them perhaps actually in course of being saved by 'the uncovenanted mercies of God'. We lay undue stress upon obedience to an elaborate system, which we assume to be identical with the true law of God, and an integral and final part of His revelation. It is well if St. Paul can recall us from this to the personal union of the believer with his Lord, to the fact of the unfettered operation of the Spirit, to the faith which works by love, and to the freedom for which Christ did set us free.

5. Analysis of the Epistle.

I. THE PERSONAL QUESTION, ch. i-ii.

i. 1-5. Salutation.

i. 6-10. Occasion of the letter, stated abruptly.

i. 11-ii. 21. Historical retrospect, vindicating St. Paul's apostleship and authority (i. 11-17), and his independence of the Jerusalem Church (i. 18-ii. 21). From ii. 15 onwards St. Paul passes without any definite break to the doctrinal argument.

II. THE DOCTRINAL ARGUMENT, iii. 1-v. 12.

iii. 1-5. The spiritual experience of the Galatians independent of the law.

iii. 6-14. Faith justifies, but the law brings a curse.

iii. 15-23. The promise and the law; the one original and fundamental; the other only a temporary expedient.

iii. 23-iv. 7. The sonship implied in the promise is mediated to all through Christ.

iv. 8-20. A direct personal appeal to the Galatians not to relapse into bondage, and to remember their former relations with the apostle.

iv. 21-v. 1. The two covenants; Isaac and Ishmael; the Christian, not the Jew, is in line with the former, and is free.

- v. 2-12. A further personal appeal ; the folly of falling back on circumcision ; severe criticism of the agitators.

III. PRACTICAL APPLICATION, v. 13—vi. 10.

- v. 13-15. Freedom and the law of love.
v. 16-24. The flesh and the Spirit ; the practical results of the new life.
v. 25—vi. 6. Unity, humility, and brotherly sympathy.
vi. 7-10. The possession of the Spirit does not do away with personal responsibility and effort.

IV. CONCLUDING SUMMARY, vi. 11-18.

- vi. 11-17. Contrast between the Judaizers and the Apostle ; the indifference of circumcision ; his own unassailable authority.
vi. 18. Closing benediction.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE GALATIANS

I. 1 PAUL, an apostle (not from men, neither through

I. 1-5. The Salutation. In outline the Pauline Epistles all follow the usual epistolary form: (1) the writer, (2) the persons addressed, (3) a formula of greeting. But considerable variations are found in the length of each one of these divisions: (1) is expanded here, as in Rom. i. 1-6; (2) is very short, contrast 1 Cor. i. 2; and (3) runs on into an important relative clause and doxology, an expansion found nowhere else.

The abruptness of the opening, and the absence of praise are noticeable. St. Paul emphasizes his apostleship, which had been impugned, and states at once the key-notes of his gospel, the Resurrection, the death for sin, and deliverance from bondage.

1. an apostle] The title occurs regularly in St. Paul's salutations (except in 1 and 2 Thess.); cf. 1 and 2 Pet. The emphasis on his apostleship is therefore to be found not in the word itself, but in the following clause, which expands the usual 'apostle of Jesus Christ', or the 'called to be an apostle' of Rom. i. 1.

not from men, neither through man] The first clause points to the divine origin of the office; the second to the fact that it had been directly bestowed by God (or Christ). The Christian minister may claim that he holds his office 'not from men',

but he does hold it 'through man', since it is conferred by the Church. Zahn sees a significance in the change to the singular 'through man', i. e. *a man*, and supposes a reference to Barnabas, whose intervention had been of such decisive importance in St. Paul's early life, and who had been a prominent figure in the Churches of S. Galatia; he may have been represented by the Judaizers as a sort of patron of St. Paul. Others see a reference to Ananias (Acts ix. 10 ff.). But the change seems to be only rhetorical, and to have no special significance.

It is clear that the Judaizers had attacked the validity of St. Paul's commission. They represented themselves as in line with the teaching of the mother Church of Jerusalem, and backed by the original apostles. 'Who is this Paul, and whence does he get his authority to run counter to them? In so far as he has a commission, it can only be subordinate to that of the first companions of Jesus, through whom he must have derived any authority he may have.' St. Paul retorts that he has a commission direct from God, and therefore on a level with that of the Jerusalem apostles. For similar attacks and replies cf. 1 Cor. ix. 1; 2 Cor. xi. 23; and on the different form which these attacks may have taken in Corinth, see Lake, *The*

- 1 man, but through Jesus Christ, and God the Father,
 2 who raised him from the dead), and all the brethren
 3 which are with me, unto the churches of Galatia: Grace
 to you and peace ² from God the Father, and our Lord
 4 Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins, that he

¹ Or, *a man*

² Some ancient authorities read *from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.*

Earlier Epistles of St. Paul, pp. 220 ff.

through Jesus Christ, and God the Father] The two are closely joined by a single preposition, though to complete the parallel with the preceding clause we should have expected 'through Jesus Christ and from God'. The close identification of the two is clearly the point of the phrase.

raised him from the dead] Here, as in all the Epistles, the Resurrection is assumed as familiar and common ground. The phrase seems to answer the objection 'Why, you never even saw Jesus'; 'Yes, I saw Him risen and glorified.' The commission is regarded as given at the time of the conversion.

2. all the brethren which are with me] Cf. Phil. iv. 21. St. Paul does not, as on other occasions (1 and 2 Thess.; 1 Cor., &c), name any of his fellow workers, or associate them with him by using the plural. From its nature, this Epistle must remain personal and individual. But he indicates that it has the approval of the Church in which he is staying (? Antioch). It is vain to press the identification further; the full reference would have been clear to the recipients of the letter.

the churches of Galatia] See Intr. § 1 for the arguments for identifying these with the churches of South Galatia, founded on the first Missionary Journey, rather than with unknown churches of North Galatia.

3. Grace to you and peace]

The ordinary Eastern greeting in word and letter was 'Peace' (e. g. Dan. iv. 1, vi. 25); the Greek phrase was 'Greeting' (χαίρειν, Acts xv. 23, xxiii. 26; Jas. i. 1), for which St. Paul, and Christians generally, substituted the closely connected, but far more significant, 'Grace' (χάρις). All that Jew and Greek could wish for their friends is combined in the Christian formula, and the old words are used in a deeper sense, John xiv. 27. We have the germ of the usage in 2 Macc. i. 1, where 'Greeting' and 'Peace' are combined. The full phrase here is that usual with St. Paul; cf. also 2 Pet. i. 2; shorter forms are found in Col. i. 2; 1 Pet. i. 2; Rev. i. 4. 'Mercy' is added in 1 and 2 Tim.; cf. 2 John 3; Jude 2 (where 'love' takes the place of 'grace'). On the theological significance of the language of the salutations, see Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 17.

4. who gave himself for our sins] In discussions on the atonement great stress has been laid on the precise preposition used in this and similar places, whether περί 'for', ὑπέρ 'on behalf of', ἀντί 'in stead of', the point at issue being whether Biblical language implies a 'substitution' theory of the death of Christ. It is well to notice (1) that the MSS. in this passage and elsewhere, are often so evenly divided that it is difficult to be certain what preposition was actually used; (2) that the study of the *Koiné* Greek (the language actually spoken in the

might deliver us out of this present evil ¹ world, according to the will of our God and Father: to whom *be* the glory ² for ever and ever. Amen.

6 I marvel that ye are so quickly removing from him that

¹ Or, *age*

² Gr. *unto the ages of the ages*.

Hellenistic world in the first century A.D.) shews that the old sharp classical distinction between the prepositions had become very much blunted. We shall therefore do well to avoid the attempt to ground any doctrine on the subtle and doubtful shades of meaning of a Greek preposition. So far as the passage before us is concerned, it is clear that the death of Christ was voluntary, that it was in accordance with the purpose of the Father (there is no opposition between the love of the Father and the Son), and that its object was deliverance from sin; we are not told here *how* this came about.

deliver us] Freedom is a key-note of the Epistle, and St. Paul is certainly referring in part at least to the slavery of the law, a reference which will afterwards be made explicit, iv. 3 ff.

this present evil world] Better *age* (R. V. marg.), with the implications of the English word; not merely a period of time, but including the people who live in it, and its characteristic features. Jewish thought distinguished between 'this age', subject to the rule of powers of darkness ('the god of this age', 2 Cor. iv. 4: cf. Eph. i. 21, ii. 2), and 'the age to come', the age of the Messiah, and of the kingdom or sovereignty of God. See Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, pp. 147 ff.; he points out that the Jewish parallels belong to the latter part of the first century A.D. The contrast runs through the New Testament; 'this age', Luke xvi. 8, xx. 34; Rom. xii.

2; 1 Cor. i. 20; ii. 6, iii. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 4; Eph. i. 21, ii. 2; 'the age that now is', 1 Tim. vi. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 10; Titus ii. 12; definitely opposed to the age that is to come, Matt. xii. 32; Mark x. 30; Luke xx. 35; Heb. vi. 5: the winding up of the age (i.e. the present age) occurs in Matt. xiii. 39, 40, 49, xxiv. 3, xxviii. 20; Heb. ix. 26. No doubt popular thought distinguished between the two ages as successive periods of time, divided by a definite crisis, or catastrophe, but in the Christian interpretation the two aeons overlap. The thought of the distinction in time has not indeed disappeared, and hope looks forward to the future establishment of the sovereignty of God at some definite date, and in an unmistakable way. But the distinction between the two ages becomes rather moral and spiritual; even in this aeon the Christian enjoys the blessings and possesses the powers of the aeon to come; he is already in a sense delivered 'from this present evil world'.

6-10. Occasion of the letter and statement of the general position. The writer plunges *in medias res*; we understand now why there is no praise or congratulation in the salutation. It is not an occasion for compliments, or for saying nice things in order to smooth the way for criticism. The falling away has been too serious, and the crisis is too urgent.

6. **so quickly]** The expression agrees well with the early date of the Epistle, but it does not demand it. It may mean 'soon after my

called you in the grace of Christ unto a different gospel; which is not another *gospel*: only there are some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven, should preach ¹ unto you any gospel ² other than that which we preached

¹ Some ancient authorities omit *unto you*.

² Or, *contrary to that*

last visit' [whenever it was], or 'soon after the coming of the Judaizers'. Or indeed the thought of time may not be prominent at all; the word may mean 'hastily', i. e. lightly, without serious consideration: cf. 2 Thess. ii. 2; 1 Tim. v. 22.

removing 'Turning renegades' (Ltf.). The word is regularly used of a change of party or religion, whether approved of by the writer or not.

from him that called you in the grace of Christ We should perhaps omit 'of Christ', with some old authorities (so Zahn). 'Him that called you in grace' is then Christ Himself. With the ordinary reading, it is the Father, of course not St. Paul: cf. v. 8. Grace, like freedom, is a key-note; its implications will be explained later on.

unto a different gospel; which is not another The general sense is clear, but the exact translation is very doubtful, particularly as to the precise difference between the words represented by *different* and *another*. Is St. Paul denying that there is any essential difference between his gospel and that of the older Apostles, except for the false interpretation put on the latter by the Judaizers? In this case *not another* means *not really different at all*. Or is he denying that the teaching of the Judaizers deserves the name of gospel? This is the meaning of R. V. (so Ltf.). Perhaps the best translation is that which the American Revisers give in the margin, 'unto a different gospel,

which is nothing else save that there are some'; the meaning is substantially the same as R. V.

7. some that trouble you Throughout the Epistle St. Paul refers to the Judaizers in similar vague terms: cf. iv. 17, v. 10.

the gospel of Christ Here, as elsewhere, the genitive is as ambiguous in the Greek, as it is in English. It may mean 'the gospel proclaimed by Christ', or 'the preaching which has Christ for its object'. The following verse suggests that the former translation is right.

8. other than The words may be taken strictly, forbidding any addition to the original Gospel, or as admitting development, so long as the fundamental principles are not contradicted (marg. *contrary to*). In fact St. Paul himself in practice admitted both addition, and development, in the reinterpretation of old truths. He reinterpreted in many respects the gospel preached by the original apostles, and as time went on, he developed the implications of his own teaching. But he claimed with justice that he was always building on the old foundations. His charge against the Judaizers is that they are destroying them. It is true that the essential principles of salvation by the love of God and the free grace of Christ can be presented in different ways, but they were substituting the radically different conception of salvation by the observance of a local and temporary law; this was in fact 'another gospel', if

- 9 unto you, let him be anathema. As we have said before, so say I now again, If any man preacheth unto you any gospel other than that which ye received, let him be
 10 anathema. For am I now persuading men, or God? or am I seeking to please men? if I were still pleasing men, I should not be a ¹ servant of Christ.
 11 For I make known to you, brethren, as touching the

¹ Gr. *bond-servant*.

it deserved to be called a gospel at all. The principle laid down in this verse must always be remembered when we are anxious to re-state the faith 'in terms of modern thought'. At the same time it is not always easy to apply it, since the spokesmen of any school which calls itself Christian at all will always claim in perfect good faith, either that they are returning to the original simplicity of the gospel as first taught by Jesus, or that they are only developing or reinterpreting in modern language the essential truths of the New Testament.

anathema] Rom. ix. 3; 1 Cor. xii. 3, xvi. 22; Acts xxiii. 14. The word is used in the Sept. to tr. the Heb. *herem*, which means something set apart to God, usually for destruction; e. g. Jericho, Joshua vii. 1-12; hence 'devoted' or 'accursed'. It is doubtful whether the phrase was used, as has been suggested, in Jewish formularies of excommunication from the synagogue. In later times the influence of this passage and of 1 Cor. xvi. 22 led to its becoming the Christian formula of excommunication. But in the Pauline passages the thought of ecclesiastical censure is not in place; the reference is to spiritual condition before God.

9. **As we have said before]** The plural is right, as against A.V. St. Paul strengthens his position by reminding the Galatians that he is only repeating what he and his com-

panions told them when they first preached to them: cf. v. 21.

preacheth] The change of mood from v. 8 (*should preach*) is significant. Then he was suggesting an almost impossible idea; now he is referring to what is actually going on.

10. **persuading]** trying to win over: cf. Acts xii. 20, 'having made Blastus their friend' (the same Greek word); 2 Macc. iv. 45.

seeking to please men] 1 Thess. ii. 4; Eph. vi. 6; Col. iii. 22; the phrase is also found in earlier literature. St. Paul is probably quoting from his opponents; he was too conciliatory, winning converts by any means and attaching them to himself. He could be accused of watering down the gospel by his rejection of the burden of the law, in order to make it palatable to Gentiles, and of being too indulgent to the prejudices of the weak. The attitude of mind to which he gives expression in 1 Cor. ix. 31, x. 33; 2 Cor. v. 11 could easily be misrepresented. He scornfully admits the charge and retorts 'Is my language *now* that of the smooth-tongued conciliator of men, or of one who is trying to win the approval of God? After all, if popularity were my object, I should hardly adopt the career of a Christian missionary': cf. v. 11.

The exact details of the charge of inconsistency must remain uncertain. There is of course no reference to conduct before conversion.

i. 11-ii. 21. Historical retrospect,

- gospel which was preached by me, that it is not after man.
 12 For neither did I receive it from ¹ man, nor was I taught
 it, but *it came to me* through revelation of Jesus Christ.
 13 For ye have heard of my manner of life in time past in
 the Jews' religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted
 14 the church of God, and made havock of it: and I ad-

¹ Or, *a man*

dealing with his own position and apostleship.

11. For] What follows justifies St. Paul's vehement insistence on the absolute truth and finality of his preaching; *for* attaches itself to *vv.* 6-9, *v.* 10 being a parenthesis.

I make known] introduces an emphatic statement, 1 Cor. xii. 3, xv. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 1.

12. St. Paul means that he did not owe his conversion to human agency, nor was he taught the gospel by its official representatives. The second clause must not be pressed to exclude the receiving of any information about the life and teaching of Jesus. It implies that his conception of the *gospel* was not derived at second-hand: cf. Matt. xvi. 17; and *v.* 16 of this chapter.

revelation of Jesus Christ] probably *from* Jesus Christ: cf. *v.* 7.

13. The reference to the past emphasizes the miraculousness and unexpectedness of his conversion, not his own unworthiness, as in 1 Cor. xv. 8-10. It was divinely ordered from first to last; hence he is in the direct line of the old prophets who received their commission immediately from God: cf. the reference to Jeremiah, and 'the servant of the Lord' in *v.* 15. Probably he also implies that he could not have learnt the gospel before his conversion, since his intercourse with Christians had been unsympathetic and hostile. For other references to past life, cf. 1 Cor. xv. 8-10; Eph. iii. 8; Phil.

iii. 6; 1 Tim. i. 13; Acts xxii. 3 ff., xxvi. 4. 'The history of his past career as a persecutor formed part of his preaching' (Ltf.). It is often said that those who have experienced a special crisis of conversion shew a tendency to paint their past in unduly dark colours, e.g. Augustine, Bunyan, and the 'experiences' of revival platforms (cf. the narratives in such a book as Begbie's *Broken Earthenware*). But there is nothing of this, at any rate in the passage before us. St. Paul simply points to the undoubted fact that he was the bitterest opponent of Christianity.

We have no right, with Zahn, to press this passage so far as to deny the possibility of a *subconscious* preparation for conversion during the period of persecution, e.g. from the teaching and example of Stephen. The conversion did not come as the deliberate result of a process of conscious reflexion, but psychologically the way may have been prepared for long; cf. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, esp. pp. 230 ff. He speaks of 'the subconscious incubation of motives deposited by a growing experience'.

the Jews' religion] The word occurs in *v.* 14, and in 2 and 4 Macc.; the vb. in Gal. ii. 14. It implies the observance of Judaism on its outward side, somewhat as a party badge, opposed to 'Hellenizing'.

made havock] Only elsewhere in N. T. in *v.* 23, and Acts ix. 21, also of St. Paul—an interesting link between this Epistle and Acts.

vanced in the Jews' religion beyond many of mine own age ¹among my countrymen, being more exceedingly
 15 zealous for the traditions of my fathers. But when it was the good pleasure of God, who separated me, *even*
 16 from my mother's womb, and called me through his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among

¹ Gr. *in my race*.

14. beyond many of mine own age] 'Who embraced the religion of their fathers with all the ardour of youthful patriotism' (Ltf.). But this explanation hardly lies on the surface. May not St. Paul be hinting that his contemporaries, the younger generation, were in many cases inclined to sit loosely to their ancestral faith, while he himself in contrast to this prevalent laxity shewed himself a strict traditionalist? See note on *of my fathers*.

zealous] The word is the same as zealot, but it is doubtful whether St. Paul uses it in the special party sense. Nor is it certain that he uses *traditions* in the technical sense of the oral, as opposed to the written law. The question is whether such references would be intelligible to Gentiles.

of my fathers] i. e. of my family and ancestors (St. Paul was a Pharisee, descended from Pharisees, Phil. iii. 5), not merely of my race. All his home influence made his conversion improbable.

15. separated me, even from my mother's womb] Cf. Rom. i. 1, and 'the chosen vessel' of Acts ix. 15. The language deliberately recalls that used of, and by, the prophets, Isa. xlv. 2, 24, xlix. 1, 5 (of 'the servant of the Lord'); Jer. i. 5 (of himself); Judges xvi. 17 (Samson). It is tempting also to suppose a play on the word *Pharisee*, which means *separated*, and might be represented by the Greek word used here; 'God made

me a real Pharisee, in another sense to that intended by my parents'. But again it is doubtful whether the reference would have been caught by Gentile readers. None the less St. Paul may well have intended it in his own mind. The preacher occasionally allows himself the luxury of a passing allusion which he is aware will probably be noticed by none of his hearers.

It is noticeable how every phrase of this verse emphasizes the fact that the conversion was due to the direct agency of God—*good pleasure, separated me, called, by his grace*.

16. to reveal his Son in me] Ltf. takes this of a revelation through St. Paul to others, explained by the following words *that I might preach him among the Gentiles*: cf. v. 24; 2 Cor. xiii. 3; Phil. i. 30; 1 Tim. i. 16. But before we are ready for this stage, we look for a definite statement of the apostle's own change of attitude, contrasted with the preceding verses which speak of his hostility. It seems better therefore, with Zahn and others, to understand the words of the inner revelation to St. Paul of the person and work of Jesus, the reference being especially to the days of blindness when there was formed in his heart the clear and living conviction of Jesus of Nazareth as the Christ, and the Son of God.

that I might preach him among the Gentiles] Acts ix. 15, xxiv. 17 connect St. Paul's conviction that his special work lay in this

the Gentiles ; immediately I conferred not with flesh and
 17 blood : neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which
 were apostles before me : but I went away into Arabia ;
 and again I returned unto Damascus.

field directly with his conversion. Acts xxii. 21 refers it to a later vision at Jerusalem (but N.B. 'all men' v. 15). There is no real contradiction ; a resolution which may seem to have been definitely formulated at a late period is often seen to have been implicitly taken much earlier. St. Paul's point here is that the Gentile mission was in no sense an afterthought or change of plan ; it grew directly out of his conversion. This is in fact psychologically probable. As is shown in the Intr., p. xxiv, the terms on which the Gentile world might be admitted to a share in Jewish privileges were much debated. Saul of Tarsus must have often discussed the question. Probably he took a rigorist line. But the teaching of Stephen shewed him clearly that the new religion of Jesus involved the passing away of Jewish prerogatives. It was on this very ground that he opposed him and Christianity so fiercely. Hence when he himself became a follower of Jesus, he realized fully that this implied accepting Him not merely as the Jewish Messiah, but as the universal World-Saviour, and he felt that his life-work was to be the enforcement of this point of view. The ordinary Jewish Christian had to learn that He whom he regarded as the Messiah of his nation was also the Saviour of the World. St. Paul grasped the fact the moment he was converted.

conferred not] St. Paul is not denying ordinary intercourse with his fellow men, but the seeking of confirmation from man of the revelation granted by God, and the asking of advice with regard to the com-

mission he had received. He is clearly replying to an accusation. His opponents had said that his authority was derived from the apostles and the Mother-Church, and that he had learnt from them what he was to do.

flesh and blood] The usual Jewish expression for man in his bodily life, opposed to God and the spirit world : cf. Matt. xvi. 17 ; Eph. vi. 12 ; Sirach xiv. 18.

17. Arabia] 'When I did leave Damascus it was not to go to Jerusalem, or any other place where there was a Christian community, but to the heathen and sparsely populated district of Arabia'. Several questions arise on this verse. (1) What does St. Paul mean by *Arabia*? In the first century A.D. the word was used to describe the kingdom of the Nabataean Arabs, under Aretas IV, which stretched from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, and northward even, at one time, to Damascus itself ; Justin Martyr speaks of Damascus as belonging to Arabia. We are therefore thrown back on the probabilities of the case, when we ask to what part of this district St. Paul went. A favourite answer is Mt. Sinai, but the journey was long and difficult ; it is more probable that he went to the region east of Damascus, perhaps to the neighbourhood of Bostra. (2) *What was the purpose of the visit?* Again we are left in the dark, Ltf. and others suggest quiet and retirement for meditation ; cf. Elijah, and our Lord in the desert. Lake believes that he may have begun to preach at once, and this view has the advantage of explaining the subse-

18 Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to ¹ visit
 19 Cephas, and tarried with him fifteen days. But other of the

¹ Or, *become acquainted with*

quent hostility of Aretas. But it was a strange quarter to select as the first field for his missionary zeal.

(3) *Relation to other passages.* In Acts ix. 19 ff. nothing is said of this visit; St. Paul goes straight from Damascus to Jerusalem. It is probably to be placed at the period covered by v. 19. The fact that St. Luke omits it is an argument, though not a strong one, against the view that the journey was marked by any missionary activity. In 2 Cor. xi. 32 ff. St. Paul tells us, 'In Damascus the ethnarch of Aretas the king guarded the city of the Damascenes to take me, and I was let down through a window in the wall in a basket'. This incident must be the same as that narrated in Acts ix. 24, where the escape is from the hostility of the *Jews*, and the ethnarch is not mentioned; no doubt the two were in alliance against the apostle. The connexion of this episode with our passage lies in the fact that Aretas was king of Arabia, and it is reasonable to suppose that his enmity, or the enmity of his ethnarch, was in some way connected with St. Paul's visit to his dominions. On the chronological point which arises, see Intr., p. xix.

18. Then after three years]

According to Jewish reckoning this need only imply one complete year and part of two others, e.g., to take an extreme instance, December 1910 to January 1912; cf. 'after three days'. Are the 'three years' reckoned from the conversion, or the return from Arabia, the last-mentioned point? The probability is that all through St. Paul is reckoning from his conversion as the

starting-point; see note on ii. 1, and Intr., p. xviii.

As we have seen, Acts ix. 19 ff. does not mention the visit to Arabia; it speaks of energetic preaching in Damascus, and ascribes St. Paul's departure to a plot against his life (see note on v. 17). The time-period is after 'many days' (v. 22), a vague expression which is not inconsistent with 'after three years', properly interpreted. The fact that his conversion was still unknown to the Jerusalem Church (v. 26) is an argument in favour of making the interval as short as possible.

to visit] The word is regularly used of the traveller who goes to see interesting places or persons; i.e. St. Paul was naturally anxious to make St. Peter's acquaintance, but he did not want advice or instruction from him. He had lived and worked as a Christian for 'three years' before he ever saw him.

Cephas] The Aramaic word for *Peter* occurs only in ii. 9, 11, 14 (not in v. 7); 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 22, ix. 5, xv. 5; John i. 43. Its use in this Epistle might be explained by the fact that it would be the name naturally employed by St. Paul's Jewish opponents, but this does not account for its occurrence e.g. in 1 Cor. xv. 5.

fifteen days] 'A fortnight'. The shortness of the visit is a point in favour of St. Paul's argument that he was all along independent of the older apostles. Acts ix. 26 ff. mentions no period, but it must be admitted that it suggests a longer stay.

19. other of the apostles

apostles saw I none, ¹ save James the Lord's brother.
20 Now touching the things which I write unto you, be-

¹ Or, *but only*

saw I none, save James] Acts ix. 27 speaks of St. Paul being introduced to 'the apostles', and v. 28 implies that he must have seen any of the number who were in Jerusalem at the time. The rest may, of course, have been away, possibly on missionary work. Is James here called an apostle? The Greek leaves it open, see marg. *but only James*. He is not called an apostle in ch. ii, and the clause seems to mean 'I saw none of the [twelve] apostles except Peter, nor did I see any other prominent leader except James.' The sentence would have been strictly accurate without the addition, but it might have been misleading, and St. Paul's opponents could have criticized it as disingenuous. But, of course, St. Paul's usage of the word *apostle* in this passage is not decisive for St. Luke. The word could be used in a strict or more extended sense; in Acts xv James seems to be included among the apostles. He may therefore be similarly included in ix. 27, in which case the contradiction between him and St. Paul would be only verbal.

James] He was not a believer during our Lord's lifetime, but is found among the disciples after the Resurrection (Acts i. 14), probably having been converted by a vision of the risen Lord (1 Cor. xv. 7). He rose to a prominent position in the Church of Jerusalem (Gal. i. ii; Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18), and became, in the language of the second century, its first 'bishop'. He apparently remained a strict Jew, a fact which would make him a suitable leader of that Church.

For the later stories connected with him see Ltf., *St. Paul and the Three*, and Bible Dictionaries.

the Lord's brother] There are three explanations of the relationship, (a) that 'the brethren' were younger children of Joseph and Mary (the 'Helvidian' view), (b) that they were children of Joseph by a former wife (the 'Epiphanian'), (c) that they were cousins of our Lord (the 'Hieronymian'). This last theory was first put forward by Jerome in the latter half of the fourth century, and is almost certainly wrong. Our choice lies between (a) and (b). See Ltf. *Excursus on The Brethren of the Lord*; Mayor, *St. James*; and Dictionaries.

20. **behold, before God, I lie not]** St. Paul does not hesitate to use an oath, i.e. to call God to witness, when necessary: cf. Rom. ix. 1; 2 Cor. i. 23, xi. 31; 1 Thess. ii. 5, 10; 1 Tim. ii. 7; also 1 Tim. vi. 13; 2 Tim. ii. 14, iv. 1, which are in a different category, the stress there being on the solemnity of the appeal, not on the accuracy of the statement. This usage has an important bearing on the practical interpretation of Matt. v. 33 ff.

The adjuration shews the importance St. Paul attaches to the accuracy of his historical retrospect. He is accused of departing from the true gospel he had learnt from the Twelve. He replies with emphasis that he has not changed his gospel, and that he had no opportunity of learning it from the apostles or any one else. In view of this verse, it is very improbable that he should have omitted to mention any early visit to Jerusalem; see on ii. 1.

21 hold, before God, I lie not. Then I came into the
22 regions of Syria and Cilicia. And I was still unknown
by face unto the churches of Judæa which were in
23 Christ: but they only heard say, He that once perse-
cuted us now preacheth the faith of which he once made
24 havock; and they glorified God in me.

II. 1 Then ¹after the space of fourteen years I went up

¹ Or, *in the course of*

21. the regions of Syria and Cilicia] The point is still his independence of the Jerusalem Church. In Acts ix. 30 we are told he went to Tarsus (the capital of Cilicia); in xi. 25 Barnabas fetches him thence to Antioch (in Syria). Accordingly we should have expected the reverse order here, *Cilicia and Syria*. We must suppose that the countries are named in accordance with their geographical nearness to Jerusalem (Zahn), or else that Syria is mentioned first as the more important; 'Cilicia was constantly little better than an appendage of Syria' (Ewald, quoted by Ltf.).

If ch. ii refers to the visit of Acts xv, it is very remarkable that no mention should be made at this point of the First Missionary Journey, whether the Epistle is addressed to North, or South, Galatia; that journey can hardly be included in the phrase 'Syria and Cilicia'. But if we identify Gal. ii with the famine-visit of Acts xi, the difficulty disappears.

22. unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa] For the phrase cf. 1 Thess. ii. 14. St. Paul apparently means the country district, *excluding* Jerusalem. He has just mentioned a fortnight's visit in which he must have become known by sight to many of the Jerusalem Church; in Rom. xv. 19 he refers to his preaching there. And in fact he must have been a well-known figure in Jerusalem before his con-

version; he was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, and was a prominent agent of the Sanhedrin. We are therefore compelled by common sense to the above interpretation, which at the same time clears up the apparent contradiction with Acts xi. 28; cf. xxii. 17. We cannot, however, reconcile with St. Paul's language the words of Acts xxvi. 20, where St. Paul is represented as saying that he preached not only at Damascus and Jerusalem, but 'throughout all the country of Judæa'. This is one of the indications that the speeches in Acts cannot be taken strictly as literal reports.

23. the faith] Clearly objective, —the form of doctrine, or almost 'the religion'; cf. vi. 10. St. Paul is anxious to shew that the Jewish section of the Church had at an earlier period given a hearty welcome to his work; and once more he emphasizes the agency of the grace of God (v. 24).

made havock] See on v. 13.

II. 1-10. There is no real break between the chapters. St. Paul is still sketching the outline of his early movements with the object of proving that he was all along essentially independent of the authority of the Twelve. He never had been commissioned by the Jerusalem Church, and therefore the claim that he should now submit to their supposed views was unreasonable.

again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also

In the Intr., pp. xvi f., the grounds are given for identifying the visit here described with the 'famine-visit' of Acts xi. 30, xii. 25. If we take the Epistle and the Acts as giving parallel and reliable accounts of St. Paul's movements, this is the obvious view of the case. We identify the visit mentioned as the second by each authority; and we have tried to shew that there is no reason whatever why the events described in this chapter should not have happened at the time of the visit recorded by St. Luke. The identification makes it possible to hold that the Epistle was written *before* the Council of Acts xv, and this view gives us the only satisfactory answer to the inevitable question, why St. Paul makes no reference to the formal and considered decision of the Council, which bore directly on the very point he is considering all through the Epistle, viz. the necessity of circumcision, and the claims of the Jewish law.

The alternative is to identify the visits of Gal. ii and Acts xv. As we shall see, the two accounts on this view are not easily reconciled. And it implies that St. Paul entirely ignores the visit of Acts xi, thereby quite gratuitously giving a serious occasion to his enemies, by making a serious omission at the very time when he is solemnly asseverating his accuracy (the whole force of the argument depends on his giving a faithful and *complete* account of his relations with the Jerusalem Church). We are therefore almost driven to the conclusion, which is in fact adopted by many who insist on this identification, that the visit of Acts xi never took place, or that it is misplaced by St. Luke and should be put at a later date.

1. after the space of fourteen years] On the chronological question, see Intr., p. xviii. It is there shewn that whether the 'fourteen years' is reckoned from the last visit, or from the conversion, the chronology allows of the early date we assign to the Epistle. The period is mentioned in order to shew the length of time during which St. Paul was entirely without intercourse with Jerusalem; he would naturally place it at its maximum. The indications of time in Acts xi and the following chapters are so vague that we get no help from that quarter as to whether (1) the *terminus a quo* is the conversion or the first visit, (2) whether the *terminus ad quem* is the famine-visit or the Council.

Barnabas] He is mentioned in a way which implies that he requires no introduction to the readers, a point in favour of the South Galatian theory. He was of course St. Paul's companion on the first Journey, but not on the second or third, when the North Galatian Churches are supposed to have been founded. He accompanied St. Paul to Jerusalem in the visits both of Acts xi and xv; his name therefore gives no clue as to which visit is here intended.

Titus] who plays so prominent a part in 2 Cor., is nowhere mentioned in Acts, an omission which has never been quite satisfactorily explained. Accordingly on the question of the identification of visits, the mention of his name is as ambiguous as the mention of Barnabas, though for the opposite reason.

The way in which St. Paul mentions him shews that he was not on a level with Barnabas; he

2 with me. And I went up by revelation; and I laid before them the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately before them who ¹ were of repute, lest by

¹ Or, *are*

went in a subordinate capacity, and is only referred to because of the incident of *v.* 3.

2. by revelation] This is not entirely inconsistent with Acts xv. 2, where St. Paul's journey is ascribed to the choice of the Church. It may from another point of view have been due to the clearly manifested guidance of God ('revelation'). At the same time, when anything of this sort happened, St. Luke is very careful to call attention to the fact (e.g. Acts xiii. 1). On the other hand St. Paul's language agrees exactly with that of Acts xi. 27 ff., where the famine-visit is ascribed to the prophecy of Agabus; St. Paul does not say that 'the revelation' was given directly to himself.

The bearing of the words on the argument is that they shew that the journey was not undertaken on account of any doubt or difficulty which St. Paul felt himself.

laid before them] The word implies consultation among equals; cf. Acts xxv. 14.

privately] The reference cannot possibly be to the public discussion of Acts xv. No doubt this might well have been preceded by a private conference, but the point is that St. Paul's language clearly *excludes* any public discussion. There is no hint of it anywhere in this chapter, the 'agreement' of *vv.* 6 ff. being evidently the upshot of the private conference he has already mentioned. The whole run of the sentence implies that he only conferred 'privately with them of repute'. Accordingly we must reject the

explanation of Ltf. that while St. Luke writes his account from the public and official point of view, St. Paul confines himself to the history of the private negotiations; 'but privately' cannot mean 'privately in the first place, and then publicly before the whole Church'. If we suppose a missionary sent home to discuss an important point of Church policy, and invited to address Convocation on the subject, with the result that that body came to a formal decision in his favour, it would be inconceivable that he should write back 'I went to London, and discussed the matter, but privately with three or four leading bishops', simply because he had had a private conference at Lambeth before the public debate, passing over the latter in complete silence. And it should be remembered that the majority of critics who identify Gal. ii and Acts xv admit the cogency of these considerations, and solve the difficulty at St. Luke's expense, by supposing that the account he gives is an unhistorical writing up of the private interview mentioned by St. Paul, or else that 'the Council' belongs to a later period and has been wrongly placed where it stands in Acts.

On the other hand, if we follow the obvious course and identify this visit of Gal. ii with the famine-visit of Acts xi, all is clear. It was undertaken in accordance with the revelation to Agabus to bring alms (cf. *v.* 10); the opportunity was seized of a private discussion of the Gentile question. The suggestion that this question could not have

any means I should be running, or had run, in vain.
 3 But not even Titus who was with me, being a Greek,

arisen at so early a period is contradicted by the narrative of Acts. According to xi. 22 Barnabas had been sent to Antioch as a 'special commissioner' to look into this very question. On his return to Jerusalem the apostles were bound to ask for his report; St. Paul accompanies him, and the result is the discussion and agreement of Gal. ii. 7 ff. (see notes there). As we have seen (i. 16), St. Paul's sense of his special mission dates from his conversion; he had certainly done missionary work already, and no less certainly preached to Gentiles. The officially recognized mission of Acts xiii. 1 is the sequel of the agreement of Gal. ii.

before them who were of repute] The same expression as in v. 6 (twice) and v. 9. There is no disparagement, as though it implied 'those who seemed [to be something], but were really nothing'. The meaning is simply 'those who stood high in public estimation'; no opinion is expressed as to whether the reputation is deserved or not. Again St. Paul is probably quoting an expression used by his opponents (the occurrence of it four times in these verses suggests this); they had said 'Paul is nobody; ask the leaders of repute, whom we all know and acknowledge'.

lest by any means I should be running, or had run, in vain] Cf. 1 Thess. iii. 5. The words do not express any misgivings on St. Paul's part as to the soundness of his convictions, but they admit a wish that as a matter of practical politics his work should be recognized by the Mother-Church. If this were not done, it would be in fact a failure.

3. But not even Titus] This

and the following verses offer a hopeless problem to the commentator. 'St. Paul is here distracted between the fear of saying too much and the fear of saying too little. He must maintain his own independence, and yet he must not compromise the position of the Twelve' (Ltf.). As a result the grammar is in inextricable confusion; parenthesis is used freely; the sentence is broken off abruptly in the middle (cf. Rom. v. 12, xv. 23; 2 Cor. v. 6); and we are left in the dark as to what St. Paul really meant to say. Was Titus circumcised or not? The meaning may be either 'The apostles did not insist on the circumcision of my companion Titus, who therefore remained uncircumcised', or 'Titus was circumcised, I admit, but I allowed it only as a graceful concession, not under compulsion', the emphasis being on *compelled*. The matter is further complicated by great uncertainty of reading in v. 5, some good authorities omitting *to whom*, and *no*, *not*. And whichever reading be adopted, it still remains possible to give either a positive or a negative answer to the main question. It is impossible to arrive at any final decision. In favour of the view that Titus was circumcised is the confusion of language, which suggests that St. Paul felt he had something to explain, and was a little embarrassed; the case of Timothy (Acts xvi. 3) is also quoted, but this is not parallel, since there the mother was a Jewess. On the other side is the improbability that St. Paul would under any circumstances have departed so far from his principles as to allow the circumcision of a pure Gentile; cf., however, v. 11. On the whole

4 was compelled to be circumcised: ¹ and that because of the false brethren privily brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, 5 that they might bring us into bondage: to whom we gave place in the way of subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the gospel might continue with you. 6 But from those who ² were reputed to be somewhat (³ whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me:

¹ Or, *but it was because of*² Or, *are*³ Or, *what they once were*

question, see discussion in Ltf. and Lake, *Earlier Epistles*, pp. 275 ff.

a Greek] i.e. simply 'not a Jew'. Nothing is known of his parentage or birth-place.

4. false brethren privily brought in] i.e. the Judaizing Christians who were really traitors to the Gospel. The expression is used of traitors brought into a city to betray it. The Judaizers were spies and their aim slavery, not freedom.

5. to whom we gave place] According to this reading the sentence in *v.* 4 is left unfinished. What was St. Paul going to say? (*a*) 'the apostles urged me to yield, and I consented on this particular point'; or (*b*) 'the apostles urged me and I refused'; or (*c*) 'on account of the false brethren, and the dangerous arguments they used, I refused to yield.' In any case the meaning of *v.* 5 is fairly clear, though the grammar is at fault, 'We refused to submit to these false brethren for a moment [*if* Titus was circumcised, St. Paul is arguing that it was not out of deference to them, but to the apostles] and that for your sakes', *you* being the Gentile world as a whole, of whom the Galatians were in St. Paul's mind the representatives as he wrote the letter.

It is possible, however, that we should omit *to whom* and *no, not*. In that case the grammar

becomes clear (the words may of course have been omitted for this reason), but not the sense. 'On account of false brethren . . . we yielded for an hour in the way of subjection', i.e. only on a question of precedence, by consenting to go to Jerusalem (but not by allowing Titus to be circumcised), 'for your sakes' in order that the preaching to Gentiles should not be disowned. Or the words may mean 'we yielded for a moment as a matter of grace' by allowing Titus to be circumcised, the implication being that *at the time* St. Paul did not realize the true character and aims of the false brethren.

6. But from those who were reputed] Another broken sentence; the genitive 'from those' is followed by two parenthetical clauses, and is ultimately resumed by a nominative 'they, I say, who were of repute', the Greek participle being the same in each case; see note on *v.* 2. St. Paul has two ideas in his mind, (1) that the recognition of his work by the apostles was practically valuable in the eyes of the Church, (2) that he was in fact prepared in the last resort to dispense with it. (Lietzmann).

whatsoever they were] The touch of disparagement is most easily accounted for if we suppose (see *v.* 2) that in the recurring phrase 'those of repute' St. Paul is quoting

God accepteth not man's person)—they, I say, who were
 7 of repute imparted nothing to me: but contrariwise,
 when they saw that I had been intrusted with the gospel
 of the uncircumcision, even as Peter with *the gospel* of
 8 the circumcision (for he that wrought for Peter unto the
 apostleship of the circumcision wrought for me also
 9 unto the Gentiles); and when they perceived the grace
 that was given unto me, James and Cephas and John,

the language of his opponents. He says 'I need not pause to consider how far their estimate of the apostles is justified or not; personal reputation is nothing before God.' The language 'is depreciatory not indeed of the Twelve themselves, but of the extravagant and exclusive claims set up for them by the Judaizers' (Ltf.); cf. 'the very chiefest apostles', 2 Cor. xi. 5 xii. 11, where the Greek phrase is more ironical than the English.

accepteth not man's person]

In the O. T. the phrase is used in a neutral sense='to look favourably upon', but in the N. T. it always has the bad sense of partiality on account of a man's wealth or position; cf. the compound words 'respector' or 'respect of persons', Acts x. 34; Rom. ii. 11; James ii. 1, 9, &c.

imparted nothing to me] This could hardly be said of the result of the Council in Acts xv.

7. the gospel of the uncircumcision] *Uncircumcision* and *circumcision* here mean 'the Gentile world' and 'the Jewish world', cf. Rom. ii. 26, &c. The whole phrase ='preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles'. St. Paul would not admit for a moment that there are *two* gospels (cf. i. 6, 7), but he does allow that the one gospel may be presented in different ways according to local and national requirements, a principle which has not always been sufficiently borne in mind in the Mission Field and elsewhere.

8. he that wrought for Peter]

The tr. *in Peter* is grammatically unsound. St. Paul here emphasizes his equality with the older apostles. He can point not only to his 'revelation' (i. 11 ff.) but to the evident approval of God, shewn in the results of his preaching; cf. Acts xv. 12; 2 Cor. xii. 12. The language of i. 22 ff. shews clearly that it is not necessary to suppose any reference to the First Missionary Journey, which on our view had not yet taken place; St. Paul's claim could be made before that. The structure of Acts illustrates this verse (Bacon), there being a striking parallelism between the speeches and miracles of St. Peter in the first part, and those of St. Paul in the second.

9. perceived the grace] As in the last verse, the ultimate argument is derived from the facts of spiritual experience; see note on iii. 2, and Intr., pp. xxv f.

James and Cephas and John]

This is the original order; later scribes altered it to 'Peter, James, and John', in view of the primacy of Peter. Acts xii. 17 shews that James the Lord's brother had become prominent by the time of the famine-visit. It is clearly this James who is referred to here (cf. i. 19), and not one of the Twelve. If the son of Zebedee had been meant (assuming he had not yet been martyred), he would have been coupled with John. And James the son of

they who ¹ were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the Gentiles, and they unto the circumcision ;
 10 only *they would* that we should remember the poor ;
 which very thing I was also zealous to do.

¹ Or, *are*

Alphæus could not have been mentioned before the other two.

This is the only reference to St. John in the Pauline Epistles, and indeed the only time the *name* occurs in the N. T., outside the Synoptists, Acts, and Revelation. In Acts he is frequently coupled with St. Peter, e.g. iii. 1-11, iv. 13 ff., viii. 14 ; cf. John xx, xxi.

reputed] the fourth occurrence of the expression ; see on *v.* 2. The names here shew that the three were primarily intended in the other passages where it occurs.

pillars] A common metaphor in all languages, cf. Rev. iii. 12.

the right hands of fellowship] The expression is so common that it had become metaphorical, cf. 1 Macc. vi. 58, xi. 62.

that we should go unto the Gentiles] The precise scope of the agreement should be noticed. The principle of missions to the Gentiles is admitted, and 'spheres of influence' are laid down. But St. Paul does not go on to say what he was bound to have said if he had been describing the events of Acts xv, that it was finally and definitely recognized that Gentile converts were not to be circumcised, and were free from the yoke of the Law. This would have been a triumphant argument wherewith to convince the Galatian waverers. The fact that St. Paul does not use it can only imply that the Council was still in the future. No doubt the decision of the Council was the logical sequel to the agreement now reached, but

the point at issue required formal and definite expression which came at a later stage. There is room both for the private and more or less vague arrangement of Gal. ii, and also for the public explicit resolutions of Acts xv.

10. remember the poor] i.e. of the Mother-Church. Though in the outward conditions of life, eating and drinking, and all that was covered by the ceremonial law, the Gentiles were to go their own way, yet the essential unity of the Christian body was to be realized, and was to be maintained by the inner bond of brotherly love. It is interesting to note that one of the duties of Jewish 'apostles' in the Diaspora was to collect and bring to Jerusalem contributions from abroad, not however for the poor, but for the temple services.

which very thing I was also zealous to do] A further point in favour of the identification with Acts xi. St. Paul and Barnabas had in fact come to Jerusalem with alms from the Antioch Christians. St. Paul had therefore no difficulty in accepting the condition laid down ; it was already his policy and he would continue it. We know the importance he attached subsequently to the 'collection for the saints' which was a feature of the Third Missionary Journey, Rom. xv. 25 ff.; 1 Cor. xvi. 1 ff.; 2 Cor. viii; Acts xxiv. 17. In Rom. xv. 31 he expressly says that he regarded it as a sort of peace-offering. If this Epistle had been written, as is usually sup-

11 But when Cephas came to Antioch, I resisted him to

posed, at the same time as *Romans* and *Corinthians*, we should certainly have expected the present tense 'am now zealous to do', with reference to the work on which he was then engaged. Of course in Acts xv we hear nothing of any condition of this kind. There are exceptions made of an entirely different character, and of these St. Paul gives no hint, a grave difficulty to those who think he is here describing the same events.

On the view that these words refer to the relief brought by St. Paul and Barnabas, we might have expected the plural *we*. The singular perhaps indicates that St. Paul, and not Barnabas, had been the prime mover in organizing the Antioch relief fund. The fact that Barnabas was an official representative of the Jerusalem Church would have made it unsuitable for him to take any active part in the matter, as it would have destroyed the spontaneous character of the offering.

11-21. Dispute with St. Peter at Antioch, leading imperceptibly to a statement of the doctrinal argument.

Nothing is said of this episode in Acts. Where then is it to be placed?

(1) On the view we take which identifies the events of the previous verses with Acts xi, there is no difficulty. It comes somewhere between them and the Council of Acts xv. Probably it was contemporaneous with the events of xv. 1, 2, the 'certain from James' of Gal. ii. 12 being identical with the 'certain men from Judæa' of Acts xv. 1, these being described by James himself later on as 'certain which went out from us' (v. 24).

(2) On the ordinary view we have two alternatives, each open to a serious objection. (a) The scene followed the Council immediately,

cf. Acts xv. 35 (Ltf.); it cannot be placed during the visit to Antioch of xviii. 23, since St. Paul and Barnabas were no longer together. But it is very hard to believe that St. Peter should have *at once* broken the spirit of the settlement just reached at the Council, or that if he had done so, St. Paul in his retort would have made no reference to that settlement; see note on v. 14. (b) Hence others who identify Gal. ii and Acts xv, suppose that when we come to v. 11, St. Paul is departing from the chronological order, and that this episode *preceded* the events of vv. 1-10 and the Council. It is true there is no definite note of time, but the whole retrospect from i. 11 has been in chronological order, and if St. Paul were now departing from it, he would probably have made it clear by words such as 'before this', or by the use of pluperfects.

This incident is therefore a strong argument against the identification of Acts xv and Gal. ii. The adherents of this view have to choose between the improbabilities of (a) which Turner, Zahn, and Lukyn Williams see clearly, and the breach of chronological sequence in (b), against which Ltf. and Moffat argue no less cogently. On the view we take, which is supported by quite independent arguments, we escape both difficulties. The scene comes naturally *before* the Council, and is narrated by St. Paul in its proper order.

11. resisted him] St. Paul was not always 'all things to all men'; he knew when it was really essential to stand firm for a principle. To know this is to be able to solve one of the hardest problems of practical life.

12 the face, because he stood condemned. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles : but when they came, he drew back and separated himself, 13 fearing them that were of the circumcision. And the rest of the Jews dissembled likewise with him ; insomuch that even Barnabas was carried away with their dissimulation. 14 But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Cephas

condemned] i. e. by the inconsistency of his own conduct. This is better than A. V. 'to be blamed.'

12. certain came from James] As representing the Jerusalem Church, they would be strictly orthodox Jews. Clearly they had some commission from James, but probably they exceeded their instructions ; cf. Acts xv. 1, 24.

he did eat with the Gentiles] The verb is in the imperfect, shewing that it had been his regular practice. There may be a reference to the Agapé, the common meal of brotherhood. The joining in such meals was a regular feature of various heathen associations, and also of the Hellenic Mysteries ; it had a religious as well as a social significance. St. Peter's vision (Acts x) had taught him to put away his old scruples, and no longer to regard the Gentile as essentially 'unclean', cf. Acts xi. 2 ff. ; he had been willing to stay with the Gentile Cornelius as previously with Simon the tanner (ix. 43). It frequently happens that one who has been brought up strictly in a particular school of thought becomes less particular about the observance of its tenets when his mind is broadened by intercourse with men of other views. If, however, he finds himself in the company of strict adherents of his own party, he will often recur to the old shibboleths through a more or less unconscious fear of appearing lax.

drew back] The imperfect sug-

gests irresolute and tentative attempts.

separated himself] The word is technical for abstinence from unclean things, almost 'made himself a Pharisee' ; see note on i. 15, where the same word is used.

them that were of the circumcision] Not merely the Jewish Christians, but 'the circumcision party' ; cf. Acts xi. 2.

13. dissembled] the behaviour was hypocritical, because the Antioch Church was really 'liberal' in its view of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. It now became ashamed of its 'laxity', and gave a false impression to the Jerusalem Jews.

even Barnabas] This may have prepared the way for the quarrel of Acts xv. 39. St. Paul speaks in terms of respect, *even*. The reference is a subsidiary argument for the South Galatian theory. Barnabas was unknown in North Galatia, and his action would have no particular interest there. But he was St. Paul's companion on the First Journey, and had been admired by the South Galatians as 'Jupiter' ; the Judaizers had probably made much of his temporary weakness. See note on ii. 1.

14. according to the truth of the gospel] St. Paul bases his protest on the essential character of Christianity, not on any formal arrangement which has recently been made, as we should expect if

before *them* all, If thou, being a Jew, livest as do the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, how compellest thou the

this incident *followed* the Council.

before them all] The right method of rebuke is often by way of private protest and expostulation, particularly when the authority of a responsible leader of the Church might be injured by public criticism. But in this case the wrong had been public, and the whole controversy was notorious; there was no escape from the public protest.

14. how compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?]

St. Peter might have replied that he was doing nothing of the kind; he and his party were merely concerned with fulfilling their own obligations as Jews, and were in no way interfering with the Gentile Christians. But this would be a superficial view; St. Paul is looking to the ultimate consequences of the policy. It was no use pretending to allow a free field to preaching among the Gentiles (*v.* 9), if the new converts were to be regarded by the apostles and the heads of the Antioch Church as on a permanently lower level, and incapable of full rights as members of the Body. This was in effect to drive them to Judaism.

This dispute then falls most naturally into place, if it comes between the arrangement of Gal. ii. 1-10, and the explicit decisions of Acts xv. We have already seen that on the earlier occasion many questions were left open for future settlement. On the other hand the decision of the Council freed Gentiles from the yoke of the ceremonial law. This implied, in Harnack's words (*Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels*, p. 56), that 'Christians from among the Gentiles who

had been sanctified by baptism and the reception of the Spirit are not unclean, they have become Abraham's seed; thus the Jewish Christian who associates with them does not contract any Levitical defilement.' This is precisely what St. Peter himself says, 'God... bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as he did to us; and he made no distinction between us and them, *cleansing their hearts by faith*' (Acts xv. 8). That is to say, when it was decided that Gentiles, apart from the law, could be 'saved', it was also seen that they were sons of Abraham, and of God, and *therefore* no longer 'unclean'. The Jew ordinarily avoided eating with a Gentile on the ground of the latter's uncleanness. The Jewish Christian might still continue to avoid social intercourse with the heathen Gentile, but he could not consistently refuse it to the Christian, if he accepted the decision of the Jerusalem Church. St. Peter did so *ex animo* (Acts xv. 7 ff.), and it is hard to believe that he can have gone straight from the Council to Antioch, and acted as St. Paul describes.

Behind the immediate question lies the principle of brotherly love and the unity of the body which is gravely injured by sharp social lines of cleavage between fellow Christians. Analogous difficulties occur in the Mission Field, e.g. in South Africa where black and white Christians live side by side, and the latter in some cases refuse to allow the former entry into their church. In India there is the question of caste, where the converted Brahmin may object to associate with, or receive the Holy Communion by the side of, the outcast. There have been

15 Gentiles to live as do the Jews? We being Jews by

some, like Cephas, ready to yield to inveterate prejudice, but it has usually been seen that the only solution is an uncompromising adherence to the principles laid down by St. Paul.

Patristic accounts of the collision at Antioch. The episode has naturally been a stumbling-block to those who have not been willing to believe that even the greatest apostles were men of like passions with ourselves. The writer of the Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* represents St. Paul under the person of Simon Magus, and makes the scene the ground of an attack upon him; he puts into St. Peter's mouth the words, 'Thou hast confronted and withstood me. If thou hadst not been an adversary, thou wouldest not have calumniated and reviled my preaching. . . . If thou callest me condemned [Gal. ii. 11] thou accusest God who revealed Christ to me.' But orthodox commentators saw clearly that St. Paul was in the right, and have in some cases shewn much ingenuity in attempting to clear St. Peter. Clement of Alexandria suggested that the Cephas of this passage was not the apostle, but one of the Seventy! A more subtle view, apparently first propounded by Origen, is that the whole scene was deliberately 'got up' in order to give St. Paul an opportunity of rebuking the Judaizers. The theory was adopted by many Fathers, including Chrysostom and Jerome, and became the occasion of a well-known controversy between the latter and Augustine, who saw rightly that the hypothesis of such an acted lie on the part of the two apostles was far worse than the admission of a momentary loss of courage and consistency on St. Peter's part. Jerome seems to have

abandoned the theory, which never found favour in the West. The true lessons to be drawn are 'the paramount claims of truth over respect for rank and office', and 'St. Peter's noble example of humility in submitting to rebuke from an inferior in age and standing' (Ltf.; the reader is referred to his exhaustive note on the *Patristic accounts of the collision*, of which the above is a summary).

15. The direct report of the words spoken to St. Peter probably ends at v. 14 (there is no further *thou*). St. Paul passes on to a discussion of the general principles involved; the verses, no doubt, represent the sort of arguments he used at Antioch, but they are not a verbatim reproduction of his words. Similar transitions are found in Acts i. 16-21; John i. 15-18, iii. 10-21; in the last passage it is very difficult to mark the exact break between the words of our Lord and the reflexions of the evangelist. Such examples are a valuable illustration of the methods adopted by Biblical writers, as by other ancient historians, in reproducing speeches. They give us not literal reports, but dramatic reproductions of the sort of arguments used on a given occasion.

The argument of vv. 15-21 is as follows: Even we Jews who are not 'sinners' have found that the works of the law cannot save us, as indeed our own Scriptures tell us. In fact we turn out to be 'sinners' ourselves. Does this imply that Christ is a minister of sin [because we are degraded to the level of Gentile sinners]? Surely not. The sin lies not in abandoning the law, but in recurring to it again. For it was the law itself which led me to abandon it; I even came to die by it, but only that I might live again

16 nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles, yet knowing that a man is not justified by ¹ the works of the law, ² save

¹ Or, *works of law*

² Or, *but only*

to God. I share Christ's death, and His risen life is manifested in me. My present life in the body is a life of faith in which I surrender myself to the loving purpose of the Son of God. I do not turn my back on this amazing love, as you implicitly do by seeking for salvation in another way. If this salvation could, in fact, have been attained on the old legalist principles, the death of Christ would have been altogether superfluous.

15. not sinners of the Gentiles]

The words should be in inverted commas. They represent the scornful language of the ordinary Jew, in whose mouth 'sinner' and 'Gentile' were almost synonymous. The Pharisee spoke in the same way of the ordinary Jew himself, John vii. 49. It is doubtful whether St. Paul implied that Gentiles were really morally worse than Jews; see Rom. i. 18 ff., ii.

16. justified] The Greek word comes from the same root as those usually translated *righteous, righteousness*; it means 'to — righteous', the question being how the blank is to be filled. Is it 'to make righteous', or to 'hold and treat as righteous', which is the general meaning of the English 'justify'; e.g. 'by thy words thou shalt be justified'. Both the formation of the word and its usage in the N. T. (e.g. Luke vii. 29, 35, xviii. 14; Rom. ii. 13, iv. 5; 1 Cor. iv. 4), as well as in the rest of the Greek Bible, indicate that the latter meaning is correct. St. Paul when he speaks of 'justification' is thinking primarily of the verdict passed on man by God. Will the Judge acquit him at the last day? Can he pass the test of righteousness re-

quired for admission into the Kingdom? Can God look on him now and call him a righteous man? That is, the word has what is known technically as the 'forensic sense'.

Now the quest for righteousness, and the desire to be justified before God was common ground to St. Paul and his opponents; it was agreed that only those whom God should pronounce righteous could enter into the Messianic Kingdom. How, then, was man to secure a verdict in his favour? The Jew, and the Jewish Christian, said that he could only do so by a careful observance of the law laid down by the Judge; if a man did righteousness, he might expect to be held righteous. No, says St. Paul. This road leads to a *cul de sac*; for try as we will we are always brought up sharply against the hard fact of our failure; we cannot keep the law, and by our breaches of it we can only incur guilt. So he offers another solution; we are justified by 'faith in Jesus Christ'; God holds and treats the believer as righteous; in other words we are forgiven, and welcomed as sons. How can this be? The usual answer is that it is by a sort of fiction. The abundant and infinite merits of Christ are imputed to the believer; he shelters behind them, and is accepted on their account. And having been thus accepted and treated as though he were righteous, he will now go on to become, in fact, righteous by the power of grace; i.e. sanctification follows justification, as a further stage in the process. The answer may be regarded as correct so far as it goes, but it does not do justice to the

through faith in Jesus Christ, even we believed on Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the law : because by the works of the
 17 law shall no flesh be justified. But if, while we sought to be justified in Christ, we ourselves also were found
 18 sinners, is Christ a minister of sin ? God forbid. For if

fundamental idea underlying St. Paul's thought. For to him faith implies nothing else than the absolute union of the believer with Christ (see notes below on *v.* 20). He who believes in Christ is in Christ, and Christ in him, and therefore of necessity His power works at once effectively in the believer's life. He is not only treated as righteous by the verdict of God, he becomes righteous by the power of Christ. Christ's merits are not imputed to him as something from outside, but through the indwelling Spirit of Christ the righteousness of Christ is practically and actually manifested in his life. From this point of view we cannot separate what Christ has done for us from what He does in us. Though it may be useful for certain purposes to look on justification and sanctification as successive stages in a process, yet ultimately they are only different aspects of the same vital spiritual fact, the *unio mystica* of the believer with Christ; in Liddon's words, 'in the living soul they are coincident and inseparable'. Justification remains 'forensic' in that the primary stress is laid on the verdict passed, but it does not imply ultimately and in the last resort that the verdict is artificial and untrue ; for 'if Christ is in you the body is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness.' See *Intr.*, § 4.

save through faith] Better, with R.V. marg., *but only* ; the opposition means, not that a man is justified

by the works of the law when combined with faith, but that he is justified by faith, and not by the works of the law at all.

because by the works of the law . . .] A free quotation of Ps. cxliii. 2, 'in thy sight shall no man living be justified' ; quoted also in Rom. iii. 20. In both cases St. Paul adds the explanatory comment 'by the works of the law'.

17. were found sinners] Turn out to have been sinners all along ; Rom. vii. 10 ; 2 Cor. xi. 12.

is Christ a minister of sin ?] The hollowness of the boasted Jewish righteousness is exposed by Christ, and the Jew is shewn to be on a level with the Gentile 'sinner'. Is it then fair to argue that Christ is the cause of, or responsible for, this sin ? *Minister of sin* does not mean 'a sinful minister', with the Hebraistic use of the genitive, familiar in such phrases as 'steward of unrighteousness' (= unrighteous steward), but 'one who ministers, or brings sin' ; cf. 'ministers of righteousness', 2 Cor. xi. 15 ; 'ministry of death', iii. 7 ; 'ministry of reconciliation', v. 18. In Rom. vii. 7 a similar objection is answered with regard to the law, which brings the consciousness of sin.

God forbid] Ten times in Rom. ; once in 1 Cor. ; three times in Gal. (cf. *v.* 21, vi. 14) ; otherwise in Luke xx. 16 only, in N. T. The phrase almost invariably rejects decisively a false inference which has been suggested for the sake of argument.

18. For if I build up again]

I build up again those things which I destroyed, I prove
 19 myself a transgressor. For I through ¹ the law died unto
 20 ¹ the law, that I might live unto God. I have been cru-

¹ Or, *law*

This verse must, as the *for* shews, be the answer to the objection raised in v. 17. The connexion is, however, by no means clear. The best explanation is, 'Christ is not a minister of sin when He compels us to abandon the law, and become as Gentile sinners. For it is no sin to do this; the sin lies in recurring to the law after it has been abandoned. In fact it was the law itself which led me to abandon it' (v. 19). Apparently there is at least a side reference to the action of St. Peter in retracing his steps, and resuming the legalist methods which he had once thrown over.

those things] The power and paramount importance of the law.

transgressor] A stronger word than sinner, which would be out of place here, since it has been used in the ironical sense of a non-observer of the law. The transgression would lie in the former abandonment of the law, which the supposed change of policy proves to have been wrong.

19. **For I]** Emphatic in the Greek; either St. Paul himself in contrast to the Judaizers hinted at in the last verse, or else 'I the natural man', 'the old ego'. The latter explanation is Ltf.'s, but is somewhat forced.

through the law] Also emphatic; it was the law itself which, properly interpreted, taught me to abandon it. It was only the school-master to bring me to Christ (iii. 24); its purpose was to awaken the consciousness of sin, and to make me realize the inadequacy of human effort (Rom. vii. 7 ff.).

A great deal has been written about the distinction in the Pauline Epistles between *the law* and *law* (there is no definite article here, or in vv. 16, 21). We should naturally suppose that while the former stood for the law of Moses, the latter expressed the general principle, the reign or conception of law as such; cf. Rom. ii. 12 ff. But unfortunately this distinction does not always hold good. In this passage, for example, the primary reference is clearly to the Jewish law. It may be that in such cases the Jewish law is regarded as typical of the general principle of legalism. But it is also possible that the whole attempt to establish a distinction is too subtle, and implies a greater consistency in the minutiae of language, than is probable in so hasty a writer as St. Paul.

died unto the law] Cf. Rom. vi-viii, especially ch. vii, where the idea of death to the law is developed at length.

20. **I have been crucified with Christ]** Cf. v. 24, vi. 14; Rom. vi. 4, 8; Col. ii. 4, 12. The conception that the death of Christ was not merely something done *for* the believer, but is actually repeated *in* him, is fundamental to St. Paul. A 'substitution theory' of the Atonement, though isolated verses here and there may be quoted in its support, does not do justice to his thought. To him the death of Christ only avails for those who themselves die, are crucified, and buried, with Him. He seems to have reached this conception by two lines, which we may call the

cified with Christ; ¹ yet I live; and yet no longer I, but

¹ Or, *and it is no longer I that live, but Christ &c.*

sacramental and the ethical. He connects the death with Christ directly with Baptism (Rom. vi. 1-8). The convert sank beneath the waters (we lose the symbolism with our usual custom of baptism by affusion), died and was buried, and rose again a new creature. But there is more in this than a mere outward symbolism of a spiritual process. We can hardly doubt that we must allow for the influence, whether direct or indirect, or at the least for the analogy of the Greek Mysteries. In them, too, we find strictly 'sacramental' baptisms, in which the initiate shared the death of his god and rose again to a new life, having within him the secret of immortality. But inseparably connected with this sacramental point of view was the ethical, based on the actual spiritual experience of the believer. In the case of St. Paul himself his conversion had in fact meant a death to his old life, a complete turning of the back on his past. To each convert from paganism, though not always to the convert from Judaism in the same degree, baptism meant the same thing. It implied a break with the habits and beliefs, the friends and social customs, of the old life, which it was no exaggeration to describe as a dying; the natural pain of the wrench, combined with the almost violent cutting off of the sins of the past, made it a true 'crucifixion'. Those who have been Christians from childhood and have passed through no very marked spiritual crisis do not always find it easy to appreciate St. Paul's language in any but a modified and conventional sense. But any experience of a real 'conversion', whether sudden

or gradual, at once infuses a new life into his words.

yet I live; and yet it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me] R.V. marg. should be followed. The words may be fairly taken, with the whole verse, as the climax of St. Paul's experience and the key to the right interpretation of his teaching; cf. iv. 19; Rom. viii. 10; 2 Cor. xiii. 5; Col. i. 27. The same thought is prominent in the Johannine books, e.g. John xiv. 20, xvii. 23, 26; 1 John iv. 12 ff.; where we find 'the mutual indwelling' of Christ and the believer, 'ye in me and I in you'; the one side is expressed in the 'Christ liveth in me' of this and similar passages, the other in the Pauline phrase 'in Christ Jesus'. The teaching is to be connected with the doctrine of the indwelling of the Spirit of God, or of Jesus, which expresses the same truth from a different standpoint. Again we have the analogy of pagan religions, especially of the mysteries. The world in which St. Paul lived was accustomed to the idea that a man could be possessed by a spirit, whether good or bad, and that he could share the life of his god. This instinctive yearning for a close union with the divine was hallowed and ratified by Christianity. And once more we see that St. Paul was building on his own personal experience. His conversion has not only been a death to the past; it had brought with it the vivid consciousness of a new life. He had found himself possessed by a fresh power, whose influence penetrated to the depths of his being, and this he identified with the Spirit of the Risen Christ.

In our ordinary experience of the

Christ liveth in me: and that *life* which I now live in

intercourse of man with man, we know how a strong personality can dominate and inspire another; we describe this peculiar influence by phrases such as 'the gift of personality' or 'personal magnetism'. It is well illustrated by the relation between master and pupil. The ordinary master directs, suggests, and teaches, but always from outside. From time to time there comes one who can do more; he inspires. The pupil finds himself possessed by a new power or spirit, and he can do things which before he could hardly have attempted. And the paradox arises that though he seems to be, from one point of view, no longer himself, but a new being, yet it is at bottom the true self with its own peculiar bent and genius which has been energized by the inspiration from the other entering within him. Not he, but the master; yet not the master only, but the master in and through him. Or, again, the same power of inspiration is seen in the magnetic influence of a conductor over the members of his orchestra. He does not speak, but somehow each player is possessed not only by his thought, but by his spirit; the resultant interpretation is not theirs but his. Such illustrations show us that when we speak of one man's spirit entering into another, we are not indulging in mere metaphor, but are dealing with psychological facts, which we are hardly beginning to understand. And they show that the language of St. Paul and of Christian experience after him is not exaggerated symbol. For it is no longer a matter of the influence of one imperfect and limited personality upon another, but of the supreme, perfect, and divine Personality upon those who humbly and willingly open their hearts to His

power. We can set no limits to the degree in which this Personality may be able to fill and possess the other.

Recent theology has rightly emphasized the importance of this doctrine of the possession of the human personality by the Spirit of the Redeemer. It is central to Moberly's *Atonement and Personality*. He points out that it is the key to the understanding of the Atonement. 'Christ is crucified first and risen before our eyes; that Christ crucified and risen may be the secret love and power of our hearts. Calvary without Pentecost would not be an Atonement for us. But Pentecost could not be without Calvary. Calvary is the possibility of Pentecost; and Pentecost is the realization, in human spirits, of Calvary' (p. 152). And he shews that Pentecost implies not a mere external influence on man, but the indwelling presence of the Spirit of Christ 'which is His very Self within, and as the inmost breath of our most secret being' (p. 284). The teaching is essentially that of St. Paul, and this passage in Galatians is the best summary of it.

We may notice also that it is central to Mysticism. The 'Unitive Life' is the goal of the Mystic. 'At its term it [the mystic life] has, as it were, suppressed the ordinary self, and . . . has established a new personality, with a new method of feeling and of action. Its growth results in the transformation of personality; it abolishes the primitive consciousness of self-hood, and substitutes for it a wider consciousness: the total disappearance of self-hood in the divine, the substitution of a Divine Self for the primitive self' (Delacroix, quoted in Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 498). The Mystic

the flesh I live in faith, *the faith* which is in the Son of
 21 God, who loved me, and gave himself up for me. I do
 not make void the grace of God: for if righteousness is
 through ¹ the law, then Christ died for nought.

III. 1 O foolish Galatians, who did bewitch you, before

¹ Or, *law*

'would say that his long-sought correspondence with Transcendental Reality, his union with God, has now been finally established: that his self, though intact, is wholly penetrated—as a sponge by the sea—by the Ocean of Life and Love to which he has attained. "I live, yet not I, but God in me." He is conscious that he is now at length cleansed of the last stains of separation, and has become, in a mysterious manner, "that which he beholds"' (*Id.* p. 499).

that life which I now live in the flesh] 'So far as I now live in the flesh, it is a life of faith' (Ltf.); cf. Rom. vi. 10. In *now*, the contrast is probably with the old life before the conversion, not with the future consummated life of glory; in the latter case we should require *still*.

loved me] The highly individualistic tone of the whole passage is to be noted. In Chrysostom's phrase, 'he appropriates to himself the love which belongs equally to the whole world'. Such a realization of the personal love of God concentrated on the individual is an almost invariable feature of conversion. But the Christian does not stop here, any more than did St. Paul. He goes on to think of the Body of which he finds himself a member, and of the social life of brotherhood which it implies.

21. **I do not make void]** We return to the dispute with the Judaizers which we had forgotten in the glowing fervour of the last verses.

'No, I can never return to the law (cf. v. 18), for that would be to treat as worthless God's grace and love, as manifested in Christ. For if after all we might have attained salvation and holiness by the law, His death would have been altogether superfluous.'

for nought] i.e. without sufficient cause; the same word as in John xv. 25, 'hated me without a cause.'

III. In the closing verses of the last chapter St. Paul has passed almost imperceptibly from the historical retrospect with which the Epistle began to a statement of his general position and the doctrinal arguments by which it is supported; these form the main subject of the rest of the Epistle.

1-5. An appeal to the religious experience of the Galatians.

1. **O foolish Galatians]** On the meaning of the word *Galatians*, see *Intr.*, pp. xf. It is in fact the only title which can cover the mixed population of the cities to which St. Paul is writing; in the towns of South Galatia were Phrygians, Lycaonians, Celts, Jews, Greeks, and Romans. But all were members of the province of Galatia. For the direct appeal cf. 2 Cor. vi. 11; Phil. iv. 15; it is pathetic, rather than angry. The implications of the epithet foolish are best illustrated by Luke xxiv. 25; Titus iii. 3.

bewitch] Used originally with reference to the 'evil eye' which was supposed to have a baneful magical effect; here probably only

whose eyes Jesus Christ was openly set forth crucified ?

- 2 This only would I learn from you, Received ye the Spirit by ¹ the works of the law, or by the ² hearing of
3 faith ? Are ye so foolish ? having begun in the Spirit,

¹ Or, *works of law*

² Or, *message*

metaphorical. Later MSS. add the words 'that ye should not believe the gospel'; they come from v. 7, and illustrate the way in which 'assimilation' of texts works.

was openly set forth crucified] The word is regularly used of a public proclamation; there is unhappily no evidence for Chrysostom's interpretation that it means 'to paint' or 'picture'. The reference is to the vivid preaching of the Cross; cf. John iii. 14 (the brazen serpent); Rom. iii. 25. The idea is that if the Galatians had kept their eyes fixed on the announcement of Jesus crucified, or perhaps on the mental image which the words called up, they would have been immune from the influence of the 'evil eye', which could only take effect if the victim met the gaze of the sorcerer. For the central place of the Cross in St. Paul's preaching, cf. 1 Cor. i. 17 ff., ii. 2.

2. Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law] Or, following the emphatic order of the Greek, 'Was it as a result of works of the law that ye received the Spirit?' It is assumed as a fact which will not be questioned that the converts have received the Spirit, and that they did so before they heard of the Judaizers or had anything to do with legalism. The argument is exactly the same as St. Peter's in the case of Cornelius, Acts x. 47; xi. 17; cf. Num. xi. 26 ff. The distinctive mark of the Christian was that he possessed, or was possessed by, the (or a) Holy Spirit. The coming of the Spirit was the

sign of the Messianic age (Joel ii. 28; Acts ii. 16 ff., 33; Eph. iv. 7-10). If He had in fact come upon the converts and visibly manifested His presence, they were clearly members of the kingdom of the Messiah, and there was nothing more to be said. How His coming was known, it is not so easy to say. Probably it was primarily by external signs and miraculous gifts (Pentecost, Cornelius; cf. 'miracles' in v. 5), but it was also known, though less obviously, by change of character (v. 22); this sort of evidence, however, required time to gain its strength. It is very noteworthy that St. Paul puts in the forefront of his argument the appeal to the actual spiritual experience of his converts. It is the pragmatic test—'What had the gospel *done* for them?' This is always the ultimate ground of belief in Christianity, and it appeals to many who fail to be impressed by the dialectical arguments from the Old Testament which St. Paul goes on to use; see *Intr.*, pp. xxv f.

by the hearing of faith] Not 'listening to the faith', but 'the hearing which comes of faith'; cf. 'obedience of faith', Rom. i. 5, xvi. 26. The Spirit had come, not because they had been especially obedient to a law, but because they had opened their hearts to a new influence.

3. begun . . . perfected] The same two words are used together in 2 Cor. viii. 6; Phil. i. 6. *Ltf.* suggests a reference to religious ceremonials, in connexion with which both words are used technically;

4 ¹are ye now perfected in the flesh? Did ye suffer so
5 many things in vain? if it be indeed in vain. He there-
fore that supplieth to you the Spirit, and worketh
²miracles ³among you, *doeth he it* by ⁴the works of the
6 law, or by the ⁵hearing of faith? Even as Abraham
believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for right-

¹ Or, *do ye now make an end in the flesh?*

⁴ Or, *works of law*

² Gr. *powers.*

⁵ Or, *message*

³ Or, *in*

i.e. we have a further illustration of the influence of the widespread ideas and language derived from the Mysteries. The analogy is quite in place here and in Phil. i. 6, but not so suitable in 2 Cor. viii. 6. On 'flesh' and 'spirit' see note on v. 16.

4. **Did ye suffer]** Lietzmann translates 'experience', referring to the spiritual experiences of v. 2. But the word is never thus used *absolutely* in the N.T. or indeed elsewhere, of good experiences. When used alone, it always means 'suffer'. The reference is to persecutions. On the South Galatian theory, we readily compare Acts xiii. 50 f., xiv. 2, 5, 19, 22; 2 Tim. iii. 11, where we see that the persecutions were not confined to the missionaries, but were shared by, and anticipated for, 'the brethren'. They arose mainly from that hostility of the extreme Jews, to which St. Paul traces his own sufferings (v. 11, vi. 12). Of persecutions in North Galatia of course we know nothing, the early history of its churches being a complete blank.

if it be indeed in vain] A tactful expression of unwillingness to believe the worst.

5. **He therefore]** Takes up v. 2. **supplieth]** The word suggests supplieth bountifully, not 'by measure', John iii. 34.

worketh miracles among you] Perhaps, with marg., *in you*. It is not clear whether miraculous powers are ascribed to the converts

generally, or whether the reference is to the miracles worked by St. Paul himself (or perhaps, other leaders) in their midst. At any rate, cf. the Lystra story, in which the healing is explicitly attributed to the cripple's *faith, hearing* Paul speak, Acts xiv. 9. Cf. 1 Cor. xii. 10, 29 for the connexion of 'powers' and the Spirit. We must remember that in the thought of the day, Christian, Jewish, and pagan alike, psychical phenomena which we should now ascribe to the working of the 'sub-conscious self' were universally attributed to the direct agency of a personal 'spirit', whether good or bad.

6. **Even as Abraham believed God]** This verse serves as the transition from the argument from experience to the proof from Scripture. 'Of course it was by faith, and this is no new thing; it puts you side by side with Abraham. And indeed this is just what we should expect, since the promises to Abraham were really universal.' The quotation is from Gen. xv. 6, which is quoted also in Rom. iv. 3; James ii. 23. Ltf. has pointed out that this verse was a standard text in contemporary Jewish discussions; it is quoted in 1 Macc. ii. 52, 'Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness' [the application is of course very different to St. Paul's], and at least ten times by Philo.

7 eousness. ¹ Know therefore that they which be of
 8 faith, the same are sons of Abraham. And the scrip-
 ture, foreseeing that God ² would justify the ³ Gentiles
 by faith, preached the gospel beforehand unto Abra-
 ham, *saying*, In thee shall all the nations be blessed.
 9 So then they which be of faith are blessed with
 10 the faithful Abraham. For as many as are of ⁴ the

¹ Or, *Ye perceive*² Gr. *justifieth*.³ Gr. *nations*.⁴ Or, *works of law*

It requires some effort for the modern mind to appreciate and adapt for its own use the sections which follow. St. Paul's arguments are not always logically conclusive. He uses the Rabbinic methods of exegesis in which he had been brought up, and relies on single 'proof texts', or on a somewhat arbitrary interpretation of single words. He also allegorizes after the not altogether convincing method of the school of Philo. But behind it all we can trace a living and permanent principle; the gospel is a continuation, a fulfilment, of the Old Testament story according to its real and deepest significance; God deals with you as He dealt with Abraham, and His people, in the past.

7. Know therefore] On the whole the imperative is better than the indicative of R. V. marg.; the verse is a fresh step in the argument, not a deduction from what has been said. For the thought, cf. Matt. iii. 9; Luke iii. 8; John viii. 33 ff.; Rom. iv. 12; Gal. iv. 22 ff. The sovereignty of the world to come was assured to Abraham's children; here Jew and Christian agreed. They only differed in their interpretation of who were included in the description.

8. the scripture, foreseeing] 'The scripture' is used (a) of a particular passage, e.g. 'another scripture' John xix. 37; (b) of the written

word as a whole: this is the meaning here. The personification is strongly marked; elsewhere we find 'the scripture saith', e.g. Rom. ix. 17; it practically means 'the Holy Spirit speaking by the scripture'.

preached the gospel] Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10; 1 Pet. i. 11. St. Paul seems to share the Rabbinic view of a mysterious meaning miraculously embodied in scripture, which the writers themselves could not have understood. In modern language we should say 'The germs, or the underlying principles of the gospel, were implicitly contained in such and such passages.'

In thee shall all the nations be blessed] A combination of Gen. xii. 3 and xviii. 18 (LXX). A good deal of discussion has centred round the right translation of the Hebrew form 'be blessed'. Does it mean this, or 'shall bless themselves', i.e. use Abraham's name proverbially as a type of blessedness? Most modern Hebrew scholars adopt the latter; but the versions all give the former meaning, which at least shows that the word had come to mean this to the Jews. Closely connected with Abraham's call, which was based on his faith, was a promise, not merely to his descendants, but to all nations—a promise which looked ahead to 'those that be of faith'.

9. faithful] The Greek word, as the English, usually means 'trustworthy', but here clearly = 'believ-

works of the law are under a curse: for it is written, Cursed is every one which continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law, to do them.
 11 Now that no man is justified ¹ by the law in the sight of
 God, is evident: for, The righteous shall live by faith;
 12 and the law is not of faith; but, He that doeth them
 13 shall live in them. Christ redeemed us from the curse

¹ Gr. *in*.

ing'; see the quotation from 1 Macc., given in note on v. 6.

10. under a curse] The blessing promised to Abraham, and the nations through him, was clearly not connected with the law. That can only bring a curse, it being assumed that no one can in fact keep it perfectly. Further it was never intended by God that the blessing should come in this way, since the promise of life is attached to faith (v. 11). The quotation is from Deut. xxvii. 26, the closing sentence of the 'curses' on Mount Ebal; the words *every one*, and *all*, are found in the LXX, but not in the Heb.

11. The righteous shall live by faith] Hab. ii. 4, quoted also in Rom. i. 17; Heb. x. 38; it is noticeable that in St. Paul's speech at Antioch, where he connects justification and faith, as he does here, there is a quotation from Hab. i. 5 (Acts xiii. 41). The frequency with which this text is quoted, and the stress laid upon it, are due to the difficulty of finding cases in the O.T. where *faith* is used in anything like its active Christian sense; it practically always has a passive sense 'trustworthiness', 'constancy', i.e. the quality which makes a man *faithful*, not that which makes him *believe* (cf. note on v. 9). Even in the passage in Habakkuk the primary meaning of the word is 'steadfastness', the reference being to the man who remains unshaken in face

of the Chaldean invasion. But since, in the context, constancy of mind will come from a readiness to believe in God's promises, the transition to the active sense is not difficult. St. Paul is not without support in the stress he lays upon the verse; Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, p. 140, quotes a homily of R. Simlai, in which the 613 *Mitzvot* of the law are reduced by David to eleven, by Isaiah to six, by Micah to three, by Isaiah again to two, and by Amos and Habakkuk to one, the last reference being to this text.

12. He that doeth them] Lev. xviii. 5; it was usually held that the law must be kept perfectly, but some Rabbis taught that it was sufficient if one single commandment could be kept completely, and without the least breach; see Schechter, *o. c.*, p. 168. The underlying principle is the same in either case. In the passage quoted from Leviticus, the pronoun *them* refers to the preceding '*all my commandments, and all my judgements*'.

13. Christ redeemed us from the curse] St. Paul passes to the fresh point of the necessity and value of the death of Christ. It was not superfluous (ii. 21); for we all—primarily all Jews, and *a fortiori* Gentiles too—are under a curse. According to ancient thought a curse must come to rest somewhere. The quotation is from Deut. xxi.

- of the law, having become a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree:
- 14 that upon the Gentiles might come the blessing of Abraham in Christ Jesus; that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.
- 15 Brethren, I speak after the manner of men: Though

23; St. Paul tones down the original 'cursed of God', which he could not apply to Christ. The words in Deuteronomy refer to impalement, and forbid the leaving of the corpse of the malefactor hanging up to pollute the earth after sunset. But the thought underlying them is that of the shame and horror of a malefactor's death, and they are therefore fairly, though not directly, applicable to Christ. The nearest parallel is 2 Cor. v. 21, where we are told that Christ was made sin for us. In each case the preposition means 'on our behalf' not 'in our stead'. For the metaphor of redemption, see notes on iv. 5, 7.

14. **that upon the Gentiles might come the blessing]** The connexion of thought is that Christ by His death put an end to the régime of the law, by exhausting the power of its curse; he thus restored the *status quo ante*, according to which the blessing was promised to Abraham's spiritual descendants through faith.

receive the promise of the Spirit] The promised Spirit; we recur to the thought of *vv.* 2-5; cf. iv. 5-7; Rom. viii. 15-17, &c.

15-29. The promise is in fact the original and essential element in God's purpose; the law was only a temporary expedient to fill a gap.

15. **I speak after the manner of men]** Cf. Rom. iii. 5, vi. 19; 1 Cor. ix. 8; the phrase implies an analogy drawn from ordinary human society.

covenant] It is a much debated point whether the word here used (*diathēkē*) is to be translated *covenant*, or *will* (*testament*, R.V. marg.). In the LXX the word regularly means covenant (Heb. *Berith*), and it is so used in iv. 24, as elsewhere in N. T. Great stress was laid by the Jews on the covenant of Sinai, and the implied objection which St. Paul is answering would be 'But what of the *covenant* God made with us when He gave the law?'; cf. especially Exod. xxxiv. 27, 28.

On the other hand, in Classical Greek, and in the Papyri, the word regularly means *will*. 'There is ample material to back me in the statement that no one in the Mediterranean world in the first century A.D. would have thought of finding in the word *διαθήκη* the idea of "covenant". St. Paul would not, and in fact did not. To St. Paul the word meant what it meant in his Greek Old Testament, "a unilateral enactment", in particular "a will or testament"' (Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 341). Without entirely endorsing these words, especially in their reference to the O. T., we cannot ignore the prevalent usage of the word in the Gentile world of St. Paul's day, and the phrase 'I speak after the manner of men' suggests that St. Paul is calling attention to the fact that he is not using the word here merely in its Scripture sense. The argument of the passage, particularly in its insistence on 'inheritance', seems to demand the idea of a will. Pro-

it be but a man's ¹ covenant, yet when it hath been confirmed, no one maketh it void, or addeth thereto. Now to Abraham were the promises spoken, and to his seed. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ. Now this I say; A ¹ covenant confirmed beforehand by God, the law, which

¹ Or, *testament*

bably, then, St. Paul is deliberately playing on the double meaning of the word; it is the familiar covenant of the Old Testament, treated as implying also a will. There is a similar ambiguity, or change of meaning, in Heb. ix. 16-17.

when it hath been confirmed]

On the legal phraseology in this and the following verses, see separate note at the end of the chapter. The general conclusion is that St. Paul is speaking quite generally without reference to the technical details of any special code. 'When it hath been confirmed' implies the death of the testator; but this could not be definitely stated, since the analogy fails at this point; God does not die.

The general argument is that the covenant with Abraham is like a will, which when once it has come into force cannot be set aside or modified. The inheritance was promised to a single definite heir. The law given subsequently did not, in fact, annul this promise; if it had done so, it would have substituted a different principle altogether. It was merely an *interim* expedient (cf. iv. 1-7). Indeed it was not even divine in the strict sense; it was angelic only, and required a mediator. It does not then contradict the promise; it moved on a different plane, and had a different purpose.

16. to seeds, as of many] This verse is a parenthesis, explaining that the will did not come into force

at the conquest of Canaan, or at any other point in the history of Israel before the coming of Christ. The reference is to Gen. xiii. 15, and similar passages, but the argument is not easy to follow. Both in the Hebrew and in the Greek the word for 'seed' is used as a collective noun, and is practically not used at all in the plural of a man's descendants. The writer could hardly have said 'seeds' under any circumstances. The fact is that St. Paul is simply employing the sort of Rabbinical argument with which he was familiar. In the *Mishna* we find similar arguments based on the singular word for 'wickedness' used in Deut. xxv. 2, where again the plural is impossible, or on the plural word for 'blood' in Gen. iv. 10 (Lukyn Williams). Perhaps the best way of stating the argument is to suppose that St. Paul means that the word 'seed' implies One who as a second Adam could represent all the true children of Abraham, the promise not being exhausted by any single generation. It is remarkable, however, that in Rom. iv. 13 ff. St. Paul quotes the same words in their natural sense, as implying that Abraham was to be the father of many nations. May not this be an indication that he was not quite satisfied with the argument used here, and deliberately refrained from repeating it in the later Epistle?

Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 35, n. 4, calls attention to

came four hundred and thirty years after, doth not dis-
 18 annul, so as to make the promise of none effect. For if
 the inheritance is of the law, it is no more of promise :
 but God hath granted it to Abraham by promise.
 19 What then is the law? It was added because of trans-
 gressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise
 hath been made; *and it was* ordained through angels
 20 by the hand of a mediator. Now a mediator is not a

a fragment of a Greek version of Genesis, belonging to the fifth century A.D., in which a different Greek word is used for 'seed' (*σπορά* for *σπέρμα*); he suggests that the change may have been made as a Jewish protest against St. Paul's argument based on the usual word.

17. four hundred and thirty years after] The figure is taken from the LXX of Exod. xii. 40, 41, which gives 430 years as the period of the sojourns in Canaan and Egypt combined; so Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 15. 2, &c.; *Jubilees*; and other authorities. But the usual reckoning is 400 or 430 years for the sojourn in Egypt alone, Gen. xv. 13; Exod. xii. 40 (Heb.); Acts vii. 6; Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 9. 1, &c.; and Philo. The point in no way affects St. Paul's argument, but it has its obvious bearing on the question of inspiration.

doth not disannul] Fundamentally the argument is that the gifts and promises of God are without repentance; in its immediate context the verse goes back to v. 15.

18. if the inheritance] This word, together with *promise* and *granted*, emphasizes the fundamental difference between the will or covenant, based on God's free gift, and the law, which is a matter of wages and work. They are not on the same plane.

19. What then is the law?] The Jew who laid so much stress on the law would inevitably ask

the question in amazement. The answer would give him small comfort. *Because of transgressions* means not 'to check sin', but 'to bring out the sinfulness of human nature', 'to deepen the consciousness of sin'. The thought is developed in Rom. iii. 20, iv. 15, v. 20, vii. 7-13. On the Jewish view of the law, see Intr., p. xxii.

till the seed should come] It was a temporary expedient; see *vv.* 27 ff.

ordained through angels] A favourite Jewish idea, based on Deut. xxxiii. 2; cf. Acts vii. 53. Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 5. 3, says that the Jews 'have learnt the best of the statutes and the holiest things in the law by angels from God'; so Philo, and *Jubilees*. To the Jews this enhanced the authority of the law, angels being opposed to men. But St. Paul turns the argument round by contrasting angels with God; cf. Heb. ii. 2, also i. 5 ff. The argument perhaps implies that St. Paul did not regard the law as divine and God-given in the strictest sense; it was not on a level with the promise.

by the hand of a mediator] Probably not a mere Hebraism, equivalent to 'through', but a reference to the actual giving of the tables into Moses' *hand*, Exod. xxxiv. 29, &c. The *mediator* is certainly Moses; cf. 2 Cor. iii. 7 ff. He is so called by Philo, and in the contemporary *Assumption of Moses*

- 21 *mediator* of one; but God is one. Is the law then against the promises of God? God forbid: for if there had been a law given which could make alive, verily
 22 righteousness would have been of the law. Howbeit the scripture hath shut up all things under sin, that the promise by faith in Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.
 23 But before ¹ faith came, we were kept in ward under

¹ Or, *the faith*

we read 'God appointed me before the foundation of the world to be the mediator of his covenant'. Origen and later Fathers, misled by 1 Tim. ii. 5, understood it of Christ.

20. **Now a mediator is not a mediator of one]** A desperate verse, of which there are said to be 250 or 300 interpretations. Perhaps the usual interpretation is Ltf.'s, that mediation supposes two parties, the law being a contract valid as long as both sides fulfil the conditions, but God the giver of the promise is one; there are not two parties to the promise, which is absolute and unconditional. It is difficult, however, to read all this into the second clause; we should expect something like 'but a promise is of one'. A more natural interpretation would be that God, as a single person, did not require a spokesman, but that the angels, being many, did, and that Moses was their representative. The objection is that Moses always appears as the representative of the people; could he be regarded as representing the angels? The simplest explanation is that the whole verse is a pious gloss, written by a scribe in the margin, and afterwards inserted in the text; or there may be a reference to some Rabbinic argument to which we have lost the key.

21. **against the promises of God?]** If the law is not strictly

divine, is it contrary to the divine purpose? No; there is no real opposition, for the law was never intended to give life or to bring true righteousness. Hence it in no way interferes with the promise. Of course no orthodox Jew would admit that the law did not give life; cf. Deut. xxx. 15-20; Matt. xix. 16-19; 2 Esdras xiv. 30 ('law of life').

righteousness] The word has the definite article, 'the righteousness of which we are speaking, the common object of our search'.

22. **the scripture]** Especially Ps. cxliii. 2, quoted in ii. 16, and Deut. xxvii. 26, quoted in iii. 10; cf. Rom. iii. 10-18, where other passages of similar import are collected.

shut up] The same word is used in v. 23 and in Rom. xi. 32, 'For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all'. The idea is that of custody; Israel was fenced in as a peculiar people, the law being a hedge against the sins of the heathen; cf. v. 19. 'Kept in ward' in v. 23 is a different word, implying protection and watchful care.

the promise by faith] Not only is the promise to believers, opposed to the literal descendants of Abraham; it comes from faith, not from works.

23—iv. 7. The contrast between the temporary function of the law,

the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards
 24 be revealed. So that the law hath been our tutor *to*
bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.
 25 But now that faith is come, we are no longer under

and the full sonship bestowed through Christ.

23. faith] With the definite article; not quite 'the gospel', but 'the dispensation of faith'.

kept in ward] See note on last verse.

24. our tutor] Greek 'pedagogue'; A.V. 'schoolmaster'. The word means not the teacher of the lad, but the slave whose business it was to conduct him to and from school, and to supervise his behaviour; the lad was under his control from the age of seven years till he was seventeen. The figure develops the thought of 'kept in ward', and emphasizes the inferior and temporary purpose of the law. 'To bring us to Christ' apparently means 'to conduct us to the school of Christ', though according to the development of the metaphor in iv. 1 ff. we should have expected 'until Christ came'.

A good illustration of this passage and of iv. 1 is quoted from Plato, *Lysis*, p. 208 C, 'Do they esteem a slave of more value than you who are their son? And do they entrust their property to him rather than to you, and allow him to do what he likes when you may not? Answer me now: Are you your own master, or do they not even allow that? Nay, he said; of course they do not allow that. Then you have a master? Yes, my tutor; there he is. And is he a slave? To be sure; he is our slave, he replied. Surely, I said, this is a strange thing, that a free man should be governed by a slave. And what does he do with you? He takes me to my teachers.

You do not mean to say that your teachers also rule over you? Of course they do.' (Jowett's translation.)

Plutarch, *Symp.* iii. 645^{bc}, speaks of the law as a *paedagogus*. The word is also used frequently in Rabbinical writers, simply transliterated into Hebrew characters, e.g. Moses, Aaron, and Miriam are the three pedagogues of Israel. It is also applied to the law itself. Lukyn Williams quotes 'As a king sends his son's pedagogue to turn him from his evil ways, so God sends Jeremiah to Israel'. In 1 Cor. iv. 15 the pedagogue is opposed to the father. It is clear that St. Paul was applying an old metaphor in a somewhat new way.

25-29. Full sonship in Christ obliterates all minor distinctions, and emancipates us from the control of the tutor. The argument is not quite easy to follow. We should expect St. Paul to say simply 'You no longer need a tutor, because you are now grown up', and this he in fact implies in iv. 1 ff. He says the same in these verses from a slightly different point of view. The stress is laid on the being 'one man in Christ'; almost every clause emphasizes the fact that the Christian is a limb of the body of Christ. St. Paul is in fact taking up the argument of v. 16. Christ is the definitely named heir, and you share the inheritance because you are in Him. It goes without saying that He is not under the tutor; no more then are you. Further the phrase 'sons of God' probably involves the thought of emancipation; it is opposed to the

26 a tutor. For ye are all sons of God, through faith, in
 27 Christ Jesus. For as many of you as were baptized in-
 28 to Christ did put on Christ. There can be neither Jew
 nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can

'child' of iv. 1. In Rom. viii. 14 sonship and liberty are directly connected; so here the one implies the other. We must assume that St. Paul would have called the ward in v. 24 'a child', not 'a son', though it is of course implied that he was a son all along.

26. in Christ Jesus] Both the thought and the grammar shew that these words must be connected with 'sons of God', as indicated by the commas in R.V., not with 'faith'. In the latter case St. Paul would have used the genitive, not the prepositional phrase.

27. baptized into Christ] The preposition is important; cf. Matt. xxviii. 19 (R.V.). The mystical, and therefore the absolutely real and vital, union of the believer with Christ is mediated by Baptism; cf. Rom. vi. 3-11, where the thought is developed at length. As long as we look at Baptism as *merely* the entrance into a society, or the symbol of an inward change of heart, we cannot do justice to St. Paul's thought. It meant to him a real incorporation of the believer into Christ, or from the opposite point of view, a filling of his spirit with the Spirit of Christ. We must remind ourselves once more that Christianity came into a world which was familiar, from the widely-spread Mystery religions, with rites of initiation by water or blood, and with the idea that the initiate shared the life of, even became part of or possessed by, his god. Hence St. Paul's teaching, raising all this to a higher plane, was readily understood, and eagerly accepted. See Gardner, *Re-*

ligious Experience of St. Paul, pp. 103 ff., and cf. notes on ii. 20.

did put on Christ] The metaphor of putting on, or putting off a quality or character, as a robe, is common in the O.T., and in Greek writers (there is no reference here to an actual baptismal robe, which would be an anachronism), and we find it used in Rom. xiii. 12; Eph. iv. 24; Col. iii. 10, &c. But here and in Rom. xiii. 14 ('put on the Lord Jesus Christ'), the further step is taken of speaking of putting on a *person*. Dion. Hal. speaks of putting on Tarquinius, i.e. playing the part of Tarquinius, and Chrysostom on Rom. xiii. 14 (699 E) quotes as a common phrase that 'so and so puts on so and so', as expressing love and close intercourse between two persons; but as Zahn points out, this usage may be due to Christian influence. At any rate the expression emphasizes the closeness of the union between Christ and the baptized convert, and must be connected with phrases such as 'Christ in you', 'in Christ Jesus'.

28. neither Jew nor Greek] Cf. 1 Cor. xii. 13, Col. iii. 11. The Jewish Prayer Book (Singer, authorized edition, p. 5) has among the daily thanksgivings, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast not made me a heathen. Blessed art thou . . . who hast not made me a bondman. Blessed art thou . . . who hast not made me a woman.' The order of the three is precisely that found here, and the Jewish thanksgiving probably goes back to St. Paul's time. A similar form is found in

be no male and female: for ye all are one *man* in
 29 Christ Jesus. And if ye are Christ's, then are ye
 Abraham's seed, heirs according to promise.

the Babylonian Talmud. Zahn also quotes a Parsee prayer, 'I thank thee, O Creator, that thou hast made me of the race of men . . . that thou hast created me free and not a slave, that thou hast created me a man and not a woman.' Stoicism did much, at least in theory, to abolish distinctions of nationality and social status, and in a more practical way the influence of the Mysteries worked in the same direction. Women and slaves were freely admitted to them, and stood on a level with others. But the working of Christianity was far more potent, and the fact that St. Paul's dictum is to us, in theory at any rate, a commonplace, is an eloquent witness to the change it has brought about.

Greek] Equivalent to Gentile; cf. ii. 3.

all are one man] To be taken strictly; cf. the metaphor of the one Body, and especially Eph. ii. 15, iv. 13-16, with Robinson's notes *ad loc.* 'We are to grow out of our individualism into the corporate oneness of the full-grown man.' 'The children are to grow up, not each into a separate man, but all into One, "the perfect man", who is none other than the Christ.'

29. if ye are Christ's] Not merely belonging to Christ, but parts of Christ. The verse summarizes and clenches the argument. You are the true 'seed' (v. 16), not because you are descendants of Abraham, or because you are like him in faith, but because you are united with *the* seed, Christ.

The Legal Phraseology of Ch. iii. This subject has been fully and excellently worked out by Dr. Dawson Walker in *The Gift of Tongues* (pp.

81 ff.). Much discussion has arisen as to the particular legal system presupposed. Halmel finds detailed references to the technicalities of Roman law. 'No one' in v. 15 means 'no one but the testator', who could in fact revoke his will, or add a codicil. A will to be valid must be in favour of a *persona certa*, a definite person indicated as heir; this is the point of v. 16. Further the law may be regarded as a sort of codicil, covering the period of the *hereditas iacens*, i.e. the interval that elapses before the will itself comes into force; hence Moses is a 'mediator' in the temporal sense, filling the gap between Abraham and Christ. But the law, though it is a codicil of temporary validity, is not an annulling of the original will, because it does not deal with the question of inheritance at all, but only with wages and pay.

The objection to this line of interpretation is that it is difficult to suppose that, even if St. Paul had been familiar with these technicalities, he could, without more detailed explanation, have assumed a knowledge of them in his readers.

Ramsay, on the other hand, finds in the whole passage references to Greek law. He supposes that in that system a will was irrevocable even by the testator, once it had passed the record office and been certified as valid. Hence 'no one' in v. 15 means 'not even the testator'. Again this must have been expressed more clearly, had it been St. Paul's meaning; and there is no sufficient evidence of the theory as to the irrevocability of a Greek will. Nor is it safe to argue that St. Paul's language presupposes the Greek

IV. 1 But I say that so long as the heir is a child, he differeth nothing from a bondservant, though he is lord

system, supposed to be in force in South Galatia, as opposed to the Roman system followed in the North. The safest conclusion is that St. Paul is writing as a 'layman', assuming only the ordinary popular conception of a will and its validity.

A very interesting parallel is found in Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 2. 3, *Ant.* xvii. 9. 4, where we read of a dispute as to whether Herod's earlier will in favour of Antipas is cancelled by a later will in favour of Archelaus. Unfortunately not much light is thrown on the legal points, as the question is decided at Rome on political grounds.

IV. 1-7. St. Paul develops from a somewhat different point of view the figure of the tutor suggested in iii. 24, in order to explain the preparatory function of the law. He also takes up the idea of 'the heir' (iii. 18, 29). Here the picture seems to be that of a minor whose father is dead ('lord of all', iv. 1), though of course the analogy must not be pressed at this point.

It is instructive to notice how St. Paul passes insensibly from the metaphor of the coming of age of the minor, to those of the adoption of a son, and the emancipation of a slave (vv. 5-7). The reason may be partly that he is dealing with the position both of Jews and Gentiles; the former might be considered to be sons all the time, the latter to be adopted or redeemed from slavery. But St. Paul himself does not draw this distinction. The real fact is that all metaphors are inadequate to the facts of the spiritual life. The Apostle does not work them out into a consistent theological system, but uses each one, as suits his purpose,

to give some aspect of the truth. From one point of view we are sons of God all the time, only waiting for our complete emancipation, when we realize and enter into our sonship; from another we are strangers adopted into His family, even slaves redeemed and made sons. Many of the mistakes of theology have arisen from the tendency to take some single metaphor and press it to its logical conclusion, to the exclusion of other equally important points of view.

In this particular case the transition is made easier by the slave-like condition of the son and heir of v. 1; but none the less there is a distinct change of metaphor in vv. 4 ff.

I. I say] Not merely explanatory, 'this I mean', as in iii. 17, but calling attention to a fresh point of view. In this passage, as in iii. 15 ff., the ingenious attempts to find in St. Paul's language the precise technicalities of Greek or Roman law are unsatisfactory, and probably proceed on a false basis. The reference is popular and general, to Roman law as interpreted by the ordinary practice of St. Paul's day, and as understood by the 'man in the street'. The *patria potestas* gave the father, in theory at least, almost complete control over his son, and this authority passed after his death to the guardians appointed by his will. Legally the son was in the position of a slave, since he could only act through a representative.

For other legal analogies, cf. Rom. vii. 1-6 (where the reference is again quite general), viii. 15, 16; Eph. i. 13, 14; see Dawson Walker, *o. c.*, pp. 170 ff.

lord of all] The real owner of his (deceased) father's property. Is

2 of all; but is under guardians and stewards until the
 3 term appointed of the father. So we also, when we
 were children, were held in bondage under the ¹rudiments
 4 of the world: but when the fulness of the time

¹ Or, *elements*

there a reference to the Jewish claim to be 'heir of the world' (Bacon)?

2. guardians and stewards] It is sufficient to understand the former as having care of the lad's person, the latter of his property. The precise technical equivalents are doubtful. See the passage from Plato, quoted on iii. 24.

until the term appointed of the father] A difficulty arises in that according to Roman procedure the term was fixed by *law*, the *tutela* lasting till the boy was 14 years of age, the *cura* till he was 25. But there is some evidence (e.g. in a papyrus of the second century A.D.) that the period could be varied, and judging from the general habits of testators, there would be a natural tendency to escape in one direction or another from the rigid legal limits.

3. rudiments] *Orelements* (marg.). The word *stoicheia* may mean (1) letters of the alphabet, and so 'elementary instruction'; cf. Heb. v. 12; or (2) the physical elements (2 Pet. iii. 10), and especially the heavenly bodies. It is not certain which sense is intended here. The first, implied by R.V. and adopted by Ltf., though it might suit this verse, does not do justice to vv. 8, 9. There those who adopt Judaism are spoken of as turning back to the weak and beggarly *stoicheia*, which seems to be equivalent to being in bondage 'to them which are no gods'; they observe months, and seasons, and years. This suggests that the majority of the Fathers were right when they adopted the second sense here. In Wisdom xiii. 1-7

the worship of the elements and stars is spoken of as the highest form of idolatry; Philo calls the heathen 'those who honour the elements'. St. Paul seems to mean that both the idolatry of the Gentile and the legalist system of the Jew was slavery to the elements, i.e. to the spirits who animated, or were represented by, the heavenly bodies (see note on v. 8). Judaism on its ritual side came under this category, since its observances were largely determined by their movements (note on v. 10). And however strange it may seem that St. Paul should put the ritual system of Judaism practically on a level with idolatry, there seems no escape from the conclusion that he does in fact do so in vv. 8-10. Speaking to Gentiles he urges that the adoption of Judaic observances is practically a relapse to their old heathen condition. There is therefore no objection to adopting here an explanation of *stoicheia* which implies the same thing. In Col. ii. 8, 20 the *stoicheia* are mentioned in close connexion with principalities and powers, vv. 10, 15 (i.e. spirit beings; cf. Eph. vi. 12), and angel-worship, v. 18.

4. the fulness of the time] The primary reference is to 'the term appointed by the father', v. 2. But the phrase has also a fuller meaning in St. Paul's 'philosophy of history', according to which a predetermined purpose of God is being worked out stage by stage; cf. Mark i. 15; Eph. i. 10, iii. 2 ff. Looking back we can see how the preparation by Jewish law, the prevalence of Greek language

came, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born
 5 under the law, that he might redeem them which were
 under the law, that we might receive the adoption of
 6 sons. And because ye are sons, God sent forth the

and culture, the spread of the Roman Empire with its *pax Romana*, all combined to make the first century A.D. the critical period in the world's history; cf. *Lux Mundi*, Essay iv (*Preparation in History for Christ*).

sent forth his Son] The word is used in Acts vii. 12 of Jacob sending his sons to Egypt, in xii. 11 of the sending of the angel to deliver St. Peter, in xvii. 14, xxii. 21 of St. Paul himself. It is therefore unsafe to argue that the word itself implies the pre-existence of Christ. That doctrine is, however, suggested by the context and the word 'Son', and is of course clearly taught by St. Paul elsewhere, e.g. Col. i. 15 ff. For the sending of the Son as the climax of what has gone before, cf. the parable of the Vineyard, Mark xii. 1 ff., and Heb. i. 1, 2.

born of a woman] Similar phrases are used in Job xiv. 1; Matt. xi. 11 of man in general. We must therefore, with Ltf., reject any reference to the Virgin Birth, in spite of Zahn's support of that view. The idea is the true humanity of Christ, as sharing the weakness of our nature. So He was born *under the law* that He might learn sympathy with sinners and with those in bondage; cf. Rom. i. 3, xv. 8.

5. the adoption of sons] As has been already pointed out, St. Paul passes insensibly from the metaphor of *vv.* 1, 2, which suggests the coming of age of those who are *already* sons, to the somewhat different figures of redemption of slaves (cf. *v.* 7) and the adoption of those

who are not yet sons. This metaphor of adoption is found only in St. Paul, Rom. viii. 15, 23, ix. 4 [of the Jews]; Eph. i. 5. The word is not in the LXX; in later ecclesiastical language it became a synonym for baptism. Adoption was in fact unknown to Jewish law, but as classical writers and inscriptions shew, it was very common in the Græco-Roman world. It was connected both with the desire to have some one who could perform the due religious rites of the family, and also with questions of property; as a rule only the son, actual or putative, could inherit. 'If a son, then an heir', *v.* 7; cf. Rom. viii. 17. It is also to be noted that the Roman ceremony of adoption included a form of purchase by which the son passed by *mancipatio* from the authority of his former father [*patria potestas*] to that of the new [*cessio in iure*]. It is at least possible that this custom explains the juxtaposition of redemption and adoption in this verse. See *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. *Adoption*.

6. because ye are sons] In Rom. viii. 14 the connexion is reversed; those who have the Spirit are sons; and in Gal. iii. 2-5 St. Paul has started from the fact that the Galatians have received the Spirit. The fact of sonship and the possession of the Spirit are indeed inseparably connected, and either may be taken as the sign or proof of the other. It is the consciousness of our filial relationship which unlocks the lips in the intimate language of Christian prayer. At the same time the instinctive

Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father.
 7 So that thou art no longer a bondservant, but a son ;
 and if a son, then an heir through God.

desire for prayer, for approach to God as Father, is a witness to our divine nature ; it is the yearning of the soul made in the image of God which can know no rest till it find rest in Him. This instinctive yearning is due to the indwelling Spirit.

the Spirit of his Son] The parallel with Rom. viii. 14-17 is very close. There we have 'the spirit of adoption whereby we cry Abba, Father'. This is one of the passages which make it difficult to say how far St. Paul definitely distinguished between Christ and the Holy Spirit.

Abba, Father] Rom. viii. 15 ; Mark xiv. 36. *Abba* is the Aramaic for *father* ; cf. Bar-abbas, abbot. It is probable that the expression was a liturgical formula, derived from the opening words of the Lord's Prayer. Moulton, *Grammar of New Testament Greek, Prolegomena*, p. 10, suggests that the original word was retained 'from the peculiar sacredness of its associations'. He compares the devout Roman Catholic saying his *paternoster*, but, as a good Protestant, he adds, 'Paul will not allow even one word of prayer in a foreign tongue without adding an instant translation.' At the same time the combination of the two words is a good illustration of the fusion of Hebrew and Greek elements in the one Church, though it is hardly likely that St. Paul meant to suggest this directly. It is still less probable that the foreign word is meant to suggest the ecstatic utterance of the 'gift of tongues', regarded as the most conspicuous manifestation of the Spirit's presence (Bacon).

In 1 Cor. xvi. 22 we have the Aramaic *maranatha*, as a sort of watchword of the Christian community ; in Rev. i. 7 *nai* (Greek 'yea') and *amen* (Hebrew) are combined, and *māri qiri* (or *kiri*), the Aramaic and Greek for 'my lord', is found in Rabbinical writings (Lukyn Williams).

7. no longer a bondservant] The metaphor of *vv.* 1, 2 is definitely dropped, since in this and the following verses the figure of the son who technically has the status of a slave would not do justice to the thought ; actual spiritual bondage is referred to.

In illustration of the analogy of redemption from slavery in this and other passages, the remarks of Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 326, are most valuable. 'Among the various ways by which manumission of a slave could take place by ancient law, we find the solemn rite of fictitious purchase of a slave by some divinity. The owner comes with the slave to the temple, sells him there to the god, and receives the purchase money from the temple treasury, the slave having previously paid it there out of his savings. The slave is now the property of the god ; not, however, a slave of the temple, but a protégé of the god. Against all the world, especially his former master, he is a completely free man.' We find repeatedly in inscriptions and papyri the phrase that the slave has been bought by Apollo [or some other god] *for freedom*, the very words used in Gal. v. 1, 13. It is expressly laid down that he may now *do the things that he will*, v. 17. As he is technically the property of

8 Howbeit at that time, not knowing God, ye were in
 9 bondage to them which by nature are no gods : but now
 that ye have come to know God, or rather to be known
 of God, how turn ye back again to the weak and
 beggarly ¹rudiments, whereunto ye desire to be in
 10 bondage over again ? Ye observe days, and months, and

¹ Or, *elements*

the god who has bought him, so the Christian is the slave, or bondservant of Christ ; e.g. Rom. vi. 18, 22 ; at the same time he is free—'the Lord's freedman', 1 Cor. vii. 22. It is also expressly forbidden under heavy penalties that he should ever be made a slave again ; cf. *vv.* 8 ff., ii. 4, v. 1.

8-11. A direct appeal to the Galatians not to abandon these privileges by relapsing into bondage.

8. **in bondage]** The slavery meant is not primarily that of sin and the tyranny of evil passions, as in Romans and elsewhere, but of an external system of religion, whether heathenism or the Jewish law. Such a system, regarded as an end in itself, or even as a means *per se* of salvation, is always a slavery. It implies a continual haunting dread of carelessly or ignorantly doing the wrong thing, breaking some forgotten regulation, or offending an unknown and arbitrary power. This spirit is entirely opposed to the free and intelligent obedience of sonship.

them which by nature are no gods] St. Paul did not deny the existence of the beings worshipped by the heathen ; they are demonic spirits, but not divine, 1 Cor. viii. 5, x. 20 ; cf. Eph. vi. 12. On the ignorance of the heathen world, see Acts xvii. 23 ; 1 Thess. i. 9 ; at the same time there was a limited knowledge of God, Rom. i. 19, 20.

9. **to know God, or rather to**

be known] *Known* perhaps implies to be acknowledged by the Father as true sons. In sending the Spirit, God has answered the question as to whom He recognizes as His sons ; cf. 2 Tim. ii. 19, and 2 Cor. vi. 16-18. A similar antithesis between knowing and being known is found in 1 Cor. viii. 2, 3, xiii. 12, and in the words of our Lord in Matt. xi. 27 ; cf. also the antithesis between apprehending and being apprehended in Phil. iii. 12, and between loving and being loved in 1 John iv. 10. In all these passages the truth is expressed that we could not seek God unless He first sought us ; our very turning to Him is His drawing of us, John vi. 44 ; cf. Francis Thompson's *The Hound of Heaven*. The thought is very characteristic of mysticism ; see Underhill, *Mysticism*, pp. 157 ff.

how turn ye back again] As pointed out in the note on v. 3, St. Paul here treats the adoption of Judaism as practically equivalent to a relapse to their former heathenism and its bondage ('be in bondage over again').

weak and beggarly rudiments] Or *elements* ; see on v. 3. Both Judaism and paganism are *weak* in that they cannot save, and *beggarly*, as unfit for sons endowed with a rich heritage.

10. **Ye observe days]** The word implies a minute and scrupulous observance (Ltf.). In a neigh-

- 11 seasons, and years. I am afraid of you, lest by any means I have bestowed labour upon you in vain.
- 12 I beseech you, brethren, be as I *am*, for I *am* as ye *are*.
- 13 Ye did me no wrong: but ye know that because of an

bouring Phrygian region St. Paul had later on to protest against a similar tendency, Col. ii. 8-20 [scruples with regard to food are also mentioned], and he found the observance of days, &c., closely connected with angel-worship. Here the primary reference is to Jewish sabbaths, new moons, annual feasts, and sabbatical years; these things were a conspicuous feature of Judaism, particularly in the Diaspora, and attracted the notice of pagan observers such as Juvenal. St. Paul probably singles this feature out for special mention on account of the close connexion between the observance of seasons, and the worship, or fear, of the angelic beings which animate or control the heavenly bodies, on whose movements the seasons depend; cf. the *elements*, *vv.* 3, 9, and note on *v.* 3. The second century *Preaching of Peter* accuses the Jews of 'serving angels and archangels, the month and the moon', though the expression may be derived from this passage and Col. ii. According to Bacon, 'in contemporary Jewish writings the observance of the feasts at exactly the legal time is made a matter of prime importance just because of the connexion of the calendar with the celestial luminaries, conceived as directly under the charge of "angels"'. The connexion in ancient thought between angels and stars was always close. If this explanation be true, it explains why St. Paul regards this feature with such particular horror, and also why he practically equates it with paganism. These considerations

have their bearing on the practical application of St. Paul's teaching as to the observance of holy-days. He is really condemning not the observance itself, so much as the temper of mind which makes the observance the centre of religion. He objects to the gross superstition connected with it, and to the exaggerated importance attached to a mechanical strictness. In fact he himself kept the Jewish feasts, and recognizes the Lord's Day; cf. Rom. xiv. 5, 6. However spiritual a religion may be, it must have some system and its special days for worship.

years] A sabbatical year apparently fell in 54-55 A.D., but it is precarious to base on this fact any argument as to the date of the Epistle. St. Paul naturally completes the list without implying that the Galatians had kept, or were keeping, a sabbatical year.

11. lest by any means I have bestowed] See note on ii. 2.

12-20. A vehement and pathetic personal appeal, interjected into the middle of the more technical arguments, which are resumed in *v.* 21.

12. for I am] Rather, *I became*, the reference being to St. Paul's attitude during his missionary work. According to his general principle, 1 Cor. ix. 21, he became 'as a Greek', abandoning the high ground of his self-sufficient Pharisaism and Jewish aloofness; cf. ii. 17.

13. Yedidmeno wrong] Better, *have done me*; i.e. apparently there has been no personal affront or collision, such as St. Paul experienced later on at Corinth. The full ex-

infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you the
 14 ¹ first time; and that which was a temptation to you in
 my flesh ye despised not, nor ² rejected; but ye received

¹ Gr. *former*.

² Gr. *spat out*.

planation of the words probably depends on some circumstance quite familiar to the readers, but unknown to us.

because of an infirmity of the flesh] Cf. the 'stake in the flesh' of 2 Cor. xii. 7. We may at once reject the interpretations which find in these expressions a reference to persecutions, or to spiritual trials such as fits of despair or doubt (Luther), or to carnal temptations (the monks and ascetics of the Middle Ages); they are instructive only as shewing the point of view of their authors, who argued from their own spiritual experiences to St. Paul's. Clearly some bodily illness is meant; cf. 1 Cor. ii. 3; 1 Thess. ii. 18, and the close connexion with St. Luke; 'Luke the beloved physician' sounds like the expression of a personal debt. Theories as to the nature of the illness are at best guesses. On the ground of v. 15 an affection of the eyes has been suggested, a possible result of the blindness at the conversion; cf. the apparent shortness of sight in Acts xiii. 9, xxiii. 1, 5. But the disease was clearly repulsive (cf. v. 14, and perhaps the meanness of St. Paul's personal appearance, 2 Cor. x. 10). Hence epilepsy is a favourite theory; it is often found in the case of highly strung natures (Ramsay, *Galatians*, p. 426, instances Julius Cæsar, Cromwell, and Napoleon), and St. Paul's tendency to visions is urged as a point in its favour. But he himself nowhere connects these with his 'thorn in the flesh', nor are epileptic fits painful. Ramsay's own suggestion is the most attractive. He believes

that St. Paul caught malarial fever in the lowlands of the coast during the first Missionary Journey, and took the natural remedy of going to the highlands of the interior. It was therefore as a result of his illness that he first came to preach to the Galatians; it may have been the change of plan which caused St. Mark to leave the party (Acts xiii. 13). The attacks of this disease are intermittent, as missionaries know, and it is possible to work in between them. They are marked by acute pains, especially in the head—'like a red-hot iron' says one sufferer; 'a stake in the flesh' says St. Paul. It was regarded by the natives of Asia Minor as directly sent from the gods, and we find it continually invoked upon enemies in curse formulas. Hence the Galatians might have been expected to shrink from one suffering from this disease, just as the Maltese shrank from St. Paul when they believed that the vengeance of God had fallen upon him; see note on v. 14. Finally, this view agrees with the earliest traditions on the subject which speak of the disease as a severe pain in the head (Tertullian). See further the Excursus in Ltf., with the very remarkable parallel which he quotes from the life of King Alfred, who suffered from a mysterious recurrent malady, both painful and a cause of contempt.

the first time] Probably on the outward journey during the first part of the tour, as opposed to the return journey (Acts xiv. 21-24); see Intr., p. xx.

14. a temptation to you in my flesh] This reading is better sup-

15 me as an angel of God, *even* as Christ Jesus. Where then is that gratulation ¹ of yourselves? for I bear you witness, that, if possible, ye would have plucked out
 16 your eyes and given them to me. So then am I become
 17 your enemy, because I ² tell you the truth? They zealously seek you in no good way; nay, they desire to shut

¹ Or, *of yours*

² Or, *deal truly with you*

ported than *my temptation which was in my flesh* (A.V.), and though at first sight difficult, gives a better point to the sentence. The tendency in ancient times was to treat the sufferer, especially from painful and repulsive diseases, as one 'stricken of God and afflicted', and therefore to despise him and to shun him for fear of incurring defilement. *Rejected* is literally *spat out*, and the word is usually used in this latter sense. Spitting was in fact a usual superstitious prophylactic against disease; it was not a mere expression of contempt, but kept away the demon who possessed the sufferer; the habit was particularly common on meeting epileptics, but it was not confined to this case. St. Paul's disease then, whatever it was, was one which would naturally have been 'a temptation' to the Galatians. But instead of avoiding him as one cursed of God or possessed by a demon, they received him as a messenger or representative of God, even as Christ Jesus Himself; cf. 2 Cor. v. 20. On the South Galatian theory the words refer to the incident recorded in Acts xiv. 11, when the Galatian populace in their warm enthusiasm welcome St. Paul as Hermes, the messenger or *angel* (in Greek the words are the same) of the gods. On the North Galatian view we can throw no light on these verses, since no one knows anything that St. Paul said or did in North Galatia.

15. gratulation] Only elsewhere in N.T. in Rom. iv. 6, 9. The Galatians congratulated themselves, first on the honour of having a supposed divine being among them, and afterwards on the possession of St. Paul as a real ambassador of the true God. They spoke and behaved just as the congregation of a popular minister, who think themselves 'fortunate to have him', and the sequel illustrates the danger of building too much on the personal tie between man and man.

plucked out your eyes] A natural proverbial expression for extreme affection (cf. 'apple of the eye'); not to be pressed as though anything were wrong with St. Paul's own eyes; see note on v. 13.

17. They zealously seek you] A direct reference to the agents of the Judaizers; they earnestly court your favour; cf. 1 Cor. xii. 31 ('covet earnestly'), xiv. 1, 39; 2 Cor. xi. 2. Perhaps the word is quoted from St. Paul's opponents, or from a letter received from the Galatians. 'It is true they pay you court, as they [or you] say, but why?'

desire to shut you out] Apparently from Christ or salvation; cf. v. 4. The word occurs elsewhere in N.T. only in Rom. iii. 27, where it is used in a different sense. The idea seems to be that, having no refuge elsewhere, the Galatians will seek the favour of the Judaizers, and submit to their influence and authority; the

18 you out, that ye may seek them. But it is good to be zealously sought in a good matter at all times, and not
 19 only when I am present with you. My little children, of whom I am again in travail until Christ be formed
 20 in you, yea, I could wish to be present with you now, and to change my voice; for I am perplexed about you.

21 Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not
 22 hear the law? For it is written, that Abraham had two

zeal of the latter is not disinterested. But the phrase is very obscure and incomplete, and it is tempting to adopt the variant 'shut *us* out', i. e. 'destroy our influence over you, that you may be driven back on them'. The meaning then is simple and straightforward. It is true that *us* has little support from the MSS., but the difference in Greek between *us* and *you* is very slight, and the two words are constantly confused; probably neither of them ever occurs without the other being read by some MSS.

18. **it is good to be zealously sought]** St. Paul guards himself against the suspicion of jealousy. He is quite ready that they should be courted by others than himself, so long as it be in the right spirit and for a good purpose.

19. **My little children]** A common expression of St. John; only here in St. Paul. It expresses 'both the tenderness of the apostle, and the feebleness of his converts' (Ltf.).

of whom I am again in travail] A strong outburst of pastoral affection; the hard travail of the past must all be gone through again. For the metaphor, cf. 1 Cor. iv. 15; 2 Cor. vi. 13; 1 Tim. i. 18; 2 Tim. ii. 1; and Eph. iv. 13 (growing up into the stature of Christ). It belongs to the circle of ideas which

centre round the doctrine of 'Christ in you'.

20. **I could wish to be present]** The words take up v. 18. Clearly St. Paul cannot visit them at once, and the Galatians know why; we do not. For a possible suggestion, cf. Intr., p. xix.

change my voice] From severity and blame to gentle pleading, based perhaps on mutual explanations; cf. 2 Cor. ii. 4 ff. for a similar change of tone.

iv. 21—v. 1. A new paragraph, resuming the argument from the Old Testament. The Law itself (i. e. the patriarchal history contained in the books of the Law) indicates that there will be the two classes hinted at above (v. 7), the bond and the free, and that the latter must expect to be hated and persecuted by the former.

21. **do ye not hear the law]** We cannot conclude from this passage that the Old Testament was used in public worship in Gentile Churches, though the fact itself is quite probable, and is established for the middle of the second century (Justin Martyr). The words mean 'do ye not listen to, i. e. accept the teaching of, the law?' They assume familiarity with the Old Testament.

22. **it is written]** A general reference to Gen. xvi. and xxi. 1-21.

sons, one by the handmaid, and one by the freewoman.
 23 Howbeit the *son* by the handmaid is born after the
 flesh; but the *son* by the freewoman *is born* through
 24 promise. Which things contain an allegory: for these
women are two covenants; one from mount Sinai,

23. born through promise]

Ishmael was born in the ordinary course of nature, Isaac, not merely in accordance with a promise, but by the power of God working through a promise; cf. Heb. xi. 11; Rom. iv. 19, 20, ix. 8, 9, the latter passages being, as so often in Romans, an expansion of the Galatians argument. 'Isaac was called in Jewish writings "the God-begotten"' (Bacon).

vv. 24-27 take up the first contrast between the bond and the free, the second contrast between flesh and promise being expanded in vv. 28 ff.

24. **contain an allegory]** Cf. 1 Cor. x. 11; 2 Cor. iii. 13. St. Paul here adopts the allegorizing method which is specially characteristic of Philo and the Alexandrian school. Many parts of Scripture when interpreted literally seemed unprofitable, or even misleading; on the other hand there were many attractive features of Greek philosophy and ethics which at first sight did not appear to be recognized in it. Philo, desiring to commend Jewish thought to the Hellenic world, cut the knot of both difficulties by using an allegorical method. Working by an elaborate system of rules of interpretation, he was able to extract a hidden meaning from the text, spiritualizing what seemed to be unprofitable, and finding references to the characteristic ideas of Greek thought; e.g. the four rivers of Eden become the four Platonic virtues; for other examples, see Fairweather, *The Background of the Gospels*, pp. 353 ff. On these prin-

ciples the obvious question arises whether the allegorical meaning is the only one, or whether the literal meaning still holds good. Philo himself deprecates the practice which was in vogue in certain circles of ignoring altogether the literal meaning in favour of the mystical; he says we must keep both; see Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 24 ff. In the same way St. Paul does not, in this passage at least, deny the historicity of the story of Ishmael and Isaac; the words are translated rightly 'contain an allegory', not 'are to be interpreted allegorically', i.e. to the exclusion of the literal meaning. On the other hand, in 1 Cor. ix. 10 ('Doth God care for oxen?') he comes very near to rejecting the *prima facie* meaning altogether. Later on the writer of the *Epistle of St. Barnabas* regards a literal interpretation, e.g. of circumcision, as the invention of an evil angel in order to mislead the Jews.

For other examples of allegory, see Hebrews *passim*, especially the treatment of Melchizedech.

two covenants] In iii. 15 ff. (see notes) St. Paul has practically denied that the giving of the law can be called a *diathēkē*, an indication that he is there using the word in a different sense. Here he adopts the ordinary Jewish point of view, which of course has ample justification in the O.T.; cf. also Jer. xxxviii. 31; Matt. xxvi. 20; 1 Cor. xi. 25; 2 Cor. iii. 6 ff.; Heb. viii. 8, ix. 15, xii. 24, where the 'new covenant' is directly, or

25 bearing children unto bondage, which is Hagar. ¹ Now this Hagar is mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to

¹ Many ancient authorities read *For Sinai is a mountain in Arabia.*

implicitly, opposed to the old, i. e. the law. This passage shews that the new covenant of Christianity may be regarded as a resumption of the primary and fundamental covenant made with Abraham.

bearing children unto bondage] That the Sinai covenant was one which gendered to bondage, and was to be equated with Hagar and Ishmael, rather than with Isaac, was a position which would take away the breath of the orthodox Jew. For he believed that it was the giving of the law at Sinai which made Israel the people of the covenant, the chosen nation of Jehovah, and His spouse; at Sinai were celebrated the nuptials between God and Israel; see *Intr.*, p. xxii.

25. Now this Hagar is mount Sinai in Arabia] The text is very uncertain, the main point being whether we should insert *Hagar*, with R. V., or omit it, as in the margin. The former is the harder reading; it is supposed that *Hagar* was an Arabic name for Sinai, it being very like, though not identical with, the Arabic word for *rock*. There is, however, no sufficient evidence for this theory, and its linguistic difficulties are considerable. It is better therefore, with Ltf. and others, to omit *Hagar*, which may easily have crept into the text from a confusion with the word *for* (Greek *gar*). The point then is that the law was given at Sinai,

which is in Arabia, the land of Ishmael and of bondage, and therefore the law-covenant corresponds to Hagar ('which is Hagar', *v.* 24.) The Hagarenes of Ps. xxxiii. 7 are an Arab tribe, and in Baruch iii. 23 the Arabians are called 'sons of Hagar'. It is possible however that, as in iii. 20, the whole clause may be a gloss; cf. the addition in some MSS. of 1 Cor. xii. 31 after Gal. iv. 17.

There is an interesting note in Ltf. on Philo's allegorical treatment of this story. Abraham is the soul of man struggling for the knowledge of God; Sarah typifies divine wisdom. Abraham's union with her is at first barren, because he is not yet sufficiently advanced to profit by her. So he is bidden to join himself to Hagar (= 'sojourning'), i. e. the intermediate stage of secular learning. Isaac, the son of the one, is true wisdom; Ishmael is the wisdom of the sophist which can never stand before the other.

answereth to] The subject is the old covenant or Hagar, the preceding clause, if genuine, being parenthetical. The word does not mean 'corresponds to', as type to antitype, but 'is in the same column with'. St. Paul refers to the Pythagorean method by which a series of opposing principles is arranged in double column, those of the one class being in the *same* column. Ltf. represents it thus:

Hagar, the bond-woman.
Ishmael, the child after the flesh.
The old covenant.
The earthly Jerusalem.

Sarah, the free-woman.
Isaac, the child of promise.
The new covenant.
The heavenly Jerusalem.

the Jerusalem that now is : for she is in bondage with
 26 her children. But the Jerusalem that is above is free,
 27 which is our mother. For it is written,

Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not ;
 Break forth and cry, thou that travailest not :
 For more are the children of the desolate than of
 her which hath the husband.

28 Now ¹we, brethren, as Isaac was, are children of
 29 promise. But as then he that was born after the flesh
 persecuted him *that was born* after the Spirit, even so it
 30 is now. Howbeit what saith the scripture ? Cast out the
 handmaid and her son : for the son of the handmaid

¹ Many ancient authorities read *ye*.

for she is in bondage] The reference is primarily to the political condition of Jerusalem, as subject to the Romans. From this St. Paul deduces her spiritual condition. But the words cannot refer to this primarily, since it is the point which St. Paul wishes to prove.

26. the Jerusalem that is above] St. Paul uses the idea as perfectly familiar, and needing no explanation (N.B. the definite article). The 'heavenly Jerusalem' was, in fact, one of the leading conceptions of the current apocalyptic imagery, Tobit xiii. 15, xiv. 4 ; Baruch iv. 26, xxxii. 4 ; 2 Esdras vii. 26 ; Heb. xi. 16, xii. 22 ; Rev. xxi. 9 ff. The usual belief was that a new and glorified Jerusalem existed already in Heaven ; it had been seen in vision by saints such as Adam, Abraham, Moses, or Enoch, and in the Messianic age it would descend to earth and be established there. St. Paul nowhere endorses this apocalyptic conception of a city to be established on earth, though he teaches that the Christian is already a citizen of the heavenly city, Phil. iii. 20 ; cf. Luke x. 20. We, of course, 'spiritualize' the whole conception ; 'the city' is by

a natural metaphor 'the heaven' to which we pass after death, or after 'the last day' ; cf. the closing scene of *Pilgrim's Progress*.

our mother] Of us Christians, as opposed to the Jews of the earthly Jerusalem. A.V. follows the inferior and weak reading 'of us all'.

27. it is written] Isaiah liv. 1 ; cf. li. 2. The primary historical reference of the words is to Jerusalem restored to its former populous prosperity after the exile. Philo uses the same quotation in connexion with his allegory of Hagar (Ltf., p. 196, n. 3).

28. children of promise] St. Paul takes up the second half of the contrast of v. 23, the flesh and promise ; cf. iii. 29 ; Rom. iv. 19-21, ix. 7-9.

29. persecuted] St. Paul follows the Jewish *Haggadah*, which amongst other interpretations of Ishmael's 'mocking', or 'sporting' in Gen. xxi. 9, suggested that it meant insolence towards Isaac, or an attempt to shoot him ; see Driver, *Genesis*, *ad loc.*

so it is now] In the opposition of the Jews to the Gospel, of which the Galatian Churches had had bitter experience (Acts xiii, xiv).

30. Cast out the handmaid] We must expect opposition, but the

shall not inherit with the son of the freewoman.
 31 Wherefore, brethren, we are not children of a handmaid,
 V. but of the freewoman. ¹ With freedom did Christ set
 us free : stand fast therefore, and be not entangled again
 in a yoke of bondage.
 2 Behold, I Paul say unto you, that, if ye receive circum-
 3 cision, Christ will profit you nothing. Yea, I testify
 again to every man that receiveth circumcision, that he
 4 is a debtor to do the whole law. Ye are ² severed from

¹ Or, *For freedom*² Gr. *brought to nought*.

ultimate victory will be with the free-born. The quotation is from Gen. xxi. 10, a passage also used by Philo to prove the superiority of the sons of the heavenly wisdom to the earth-born sophists. St. Paul's application of the text is extraordinarily bold. The Jews naturally argued from such passages that they, as descendants of Isaac, were the heirs of the Kingdom; St. Paul following out his allegory turns the argument round. The thought is a startling one from the point of view of the time when it was spoken, though to us it is a commonplace. It speaks not of an equality of Jew and Gentile, but of the passing away of the Jewish system. At the same time, St. Paul in his patriotism clung to the hope of the ultimate salvation and restoration of the Jewish nation, Rom. xi. 12, 26.

31. **Wherefore]** Not a conclusion from the previous verse, but a summary of the whole passage, which v. 1 brings into connexion with iv. 8-11.

v. 1. **With freedom did Christ set us free]** The reading is uncertain, as well as the punctuation, and connexion of the clauses. (1) The words may run as in R.V.; (2) we may read the relative *wherewith* after *freedom*, and translate as in A.V., 'Stand fast therefore in the

liberty wherewith Christ', &c.; or else, with Ltf., connect the words with the previous verse, 'we are sons of the freewoman by virtue of the freedom wherewith Christ', &c. (or perhaps 'sons of her who is free with that freedom wherewith', &c.). It should be remembered that the division of the Bible into chapters and verses is comparatively modern, and is in no way authoritative as to the original meaning; the former is probably due to Stephen Langton in the thirteenth century, the latter to Robert Stephens in 1551; see Hastings, *D. B.* i. p. 288. On the whole the translation of R.V. is most forcible, but we should render with the margin *For freedom*; see note on iv. 7, and cf. v. 13.

2-6. St. Paul finally drops the logical arguments based on the O.T., and addresses an urgent personal appeal to his readers; the tone shews the seriousness of the crisis. A relapse is fatal; for Judaism is a 'yoke of bondage'; it is not something indifferent in itself, which can be added to Christianity, but a system essentially inconsistent with it (v. 4).

2. **I Paul]** I who am supposed to preach circumcision (v. 11); cf. 2 Cor. x. 1.

profit you nothing] See ii. 21.

3. **a debtor to do the whole law]** This was the generally ac-

Christ, ye who would be justified by the law; ye are
 5 fallen away from grace. For we through the Spirit by
 6 faith wait for the hope of righteousness. For in Christ
 Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncir-
 7 cumcision; but faith ¹ working through love. Ye were
 running well; who did hinder you that ye should not
 8 obey the truth? This persuasion *came* not of him that
 9 calleth you. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.

¹ Or, *wrought*

cepted view, but some Rabbis were ready to teach that the perfect performance of a single commandment was enough; see note on iii. 12. There was also a liberal party among the Hellenists who allowed converts to keep only certain parts of the law, but these converts were not as a rule circumcised, and the concession was not approved of by orthodox Jews; see Intr., p. xxiii.

5. wait for the hope] We Christians have not given up the desire to attain righteousness, but we look for it to come through the operation of the Spirit (not the law) and by faith (not works). *Wait for*, cf. Rom. viii. 19, 23, 25; 1 Cor. i. 7; Phil. iii. 20. Righteousness is a future possession, though the Christian is already 'justified'. In the same way we 'wait for' our adoption, though in a manner we have already received it. The apparent contradiction runs through the N.T.; the Kingdom and its blessings are future, yet the Christian has entered a present Kingdom and already enjoys its privileges; he has 'the earnest' of the inheritance, Eph. i. 14.

6. For] Explains *why* we look for righteousness as a result of faith.

faith working through love] Perhaps rather 'made operative by love'; love is the motive force, the impregnating principle without which faith would be barren and dead; see

Robinson, *Ephesians*, p. 241. This verse shews the essential agreement between St. Paul and St. James. The former insists on 'works' no less than the latter, but with his deeper meaning of faith, he goes behind outward conduct to its root. Given faith, as St. Paul has known it in his own experience, its works, or fruit, must follow as a necessary corollary; see Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 103. It is only to those whose experience has been less decisive and fundamental that this is not quite the inevitable commonplace which St. Paul found it; see Intr., p. xxviii.

For *faith, hope, and love*, see 1 Thess. i. 3; 1 Cor. xiii; Col. i. 4, 5.

7-12. An enigmatic passage, dealing with the individuals who were causing the trouble. Its sharp disjointed sentences would be quite intelligible to the readers, who understood the reference.

7. that ye should not obey] Perhaps with Zahn and others, we should read and translate 'who did hinder you? Be persuaded by no one (listen to no one) against the persuasion of (that ye should not listen to) the truth'. It makes v. 8 more intelligible, 'this persuasion to go against the truth came not', &c.

8. him that calleth you] God, as in i. 6, 15.

9. A little leaven] The proverb

10 I have confidence to you-ward in the Lord, that ye will
be none otherwise minded: but he that troubleth you
11 shall bear his judgement, whosoever he be. But I, brethren,
if I still preach circumcision, why am I still
persecuted? then hath the stumblingblock of the cross
12 been done away. I would that they which unsettle you
would even ¹ cut themselves off.

¹ Or, *mutilate themselves*

is quoted in 1 Cor. v. 6. A little bad influence from outside is quite sufficient to account for the startling change. Except in Matt. xiii. 33; Luke xiii. 20, 21, leaven in the Bible is always symbolical of evil.

10. I] Emphatic, 'I who know you so well' (Ltf.).

none otherwise minded] Than I bid you, cf. Phil. iii. 15.

he that troubleth you] A reference to some ringleader; contrast the plural in i. 7. Whatever his position in the Church, he will not escape punishment for his conduct.

11. **if I still preach circumcision]** Clearly a charge of inconsistency had been brought against St. Paul; cf. i. 10. There had been a time when he could have been said to encourage circumcision. His action with regard to Timothy (Acts xvi. 3) affords a good illustration of how such a charge could arise (cf. also the notes on the case of Titus in ii. 3 ff.), but the words are too vague to justify us in supposing that St. Paul is referring to this episode; we cannot build on it an argument for the late date of the Epistle; see Intr., § 2. There may well have been some earlier action which lent colour to the charge; it so happens that the case of Timothy is the only one of which we have certain knowledge. Of course the words do not refer to St. Paul's championship of Judaism before his conversion; it would have been futile for his opponents to base

any charge of inconsistency upon that.

why am I still persecuted?]

It is a remarkable feature of the narrative of Acts that after the death of Herod the Christian community at Jerusalem does not seem to have been interfered with by the Jews. They were willing to tolerate it as a sect of Judaism, but their hatred was roused by the liberal wing which proclaimed the passing of Judaism; cf. the stoning of Stephen, and the hostility of which St. Paul was the object on his last visit. The real *stumblingblock* had come to be not the proclamation of Jesus as Messiah, but the preaching of salvation to all men through the Cross. St. Paul ascribes his persecutions to his advocacy of this point of view; cf. vi. 12. This at least seems to be what is meant by this passage, since 'preach circumcision' must mean in this context 'preach a Judaic form of Christianity', and St. Paul implies that if he was content to do this he would not be molested. But in 1 Cor. i. 23 'the stumblingblock' is the preaching of the suffering Messiah to the Jews.

then hath the stumblingblock] Of course the words are ironical.

12. **cut themselves off]** A fierce outburst. Why do these people stop at circumcision? If there is any value in such rites, why do they not make themselves like the priests of Cybele? These Phrygian

- 13 For ye, brethren, were called for freedom; only *use*
 not your freedom for an occasion to the flesh, but
 14 through love be servants one to another. For the whole
 law is fulfilled in one word, *even* in this; Thou shalt love
 15 thy neighbour as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one

fanatics are at least thorough-going; cf. iv. 9, where Mosaic ritual and paganism are put on a level. This is the interpretation of all the Greek Fathers, and is demanded by the Greek word used (see R. V. marg.); cf. Phil. iii. 2, 3. The alternative 'cut themselves off from the Church' is linguistically impossible, and very weak in meaning.

v. 13—vi. 10. The third main division of the Epistle; the practical conclusion of the argument, based on the right use and the results of Christian freedom.

13. **for freedom]** Recurs to v. 1, after the sharp parenthesis of the intervening verses. For the phrase, see note on iv. 7.

only use not your freedom] A warning against antinomianism, or the idea that the Christian is under no law except the subjective guidance of his own impulses, and that conduct, or at any rate, actions which concern the body ('the flesh') is indifferent to the 'spiritual' man. We see that the charge was brought against St. Paul that his teaching led to this; cf. Rom. iii. 8, vi. 1, where the underlying idea seems to be that sin does not matter, because it only calls out more freely the forgiving grace of God. We are not far from this view in the famous apostrophe 'O felix culpa', or in St. Bernard's lines:—

Quo fuit amplior error, iniquior
 actio mentis,
 Laus erit amplior, hymnus et altior,
 hanc abolentis'.

There was also another line of thought, derived from certain of the

Greek Mysteries, according to which the man who had been initiated into the Christian 'mysteries' was 'safe', and the body and bodily sins did not matter, because they did not affect the soul. St. Paul combats this idea in 1 Cor. vi. 12 ff., x. 8 ff., and he may be attacking it in this passage, though taken alone his words here need only mean 'do not let liberty degenerate into license'.

be servants] Be in bondage; in spite of your emancipation (iv. 7), you are still under the bondage of love; cf. Col. iii. 24; 1 Pet. ii. 16, and the frequent 'servant (slave) of Christ'.

14. **the whole law is fulfilled in one word]** Completely fulfilled, not merely summarized; cf. Rom. xiii. 8—10. The quotation is from Lev. xix. 18, where neighbour means Jew. The exact interpretation of the word and the limits it implied were keenly discussed by the Rabbis; see Luke x. 29. St. Paul's teaching is the same as our Lord's, e.g. Matt. xxii. 38; it is remarkable that he so seldom directly refers to that teaching, even where, as here, we should expect him to do so. It should be remembered that Judaism, through its more liberal and spiritual exponents, had already realized something at least of the pre-eminence of love. Hillel had said to a convert 'What is hateful to thyself do not to thy fellow man; this is the whole Torah, the rest is only commentary'; the negative form of the command is, however, to be noted.

15. **But if ye bite and devour one another]** A parenthesis,

another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.

16 But I say, Walk by the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil
17 the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; for these are contrary the one to the other; that ye may not do the

clearly referring to some local quarrels or rivalries, of which we have no direct knowledge; they are hinted at again in vi. 1-3. Internal factions were a continual source of anxiety to St. Paul, and arose sometimes from disputes as to doctrine and practice, sometimes from jealousy as to 'spiritual gifts'; 1 Cor. i. 10-13, &c.; Rom. xiv-xv. 7; Eph. iv. 1-3; Phil. ii. 1-14, iv. 2; Col. ii. 2, iii. 12.

16. **Walk by the Spirit]** Recurs to v. 13. If you walk by the Spirit, if He is the inspiration of your daily life, and the atmosphere you breathe, there is no danger of your falling into the error, against which I warn you; for there is continual antagonism between Spirit and flesh.

17. **the flesh lusteth against the Spirit]** In this passage St. Paul may seem to come near to a dualistic view of human nature, regarding the flesh as something inherently evil; we are reminded of the conception, found in some Greek philosophers, of the body as an opposing principle to the soul. But this view becomes untenable when we look at St. Paul's use of the word *flesh* as a whole. We start with the O.T. conception where it stands for man in his frailty and weakness (Gen. vi. 3; Ps. lxxviii. 39; Job x. 4; Isa. xl. 6, &c.), but never do we find the flesh, or body, of man regarded as inherently bad or sinful. In the same way it is abundantly clear that St. Paul did not hold that the *body* was bad *per se*, for it is capable of sanctification, 1 Thess. v. 23; Rom. xii.

1; 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20, and of redemption, Rom. viii. 11, 23. So with the closely connected word *flesh*. It is quite true that it is used in strong contrast to *spirit*, and is directly associated with sin, as in this passage; cf. iii. 3, iv. 29, vi. 8; Rom. vii-viii; 1 Cor. iii. 1; also Matt. xxvi. 41; John iii. 6; 1 Pet. iii. 21. [But it is important to note that St. Paul can also speak of defilements of the *spirit*, 2 Cor. vii. 1]. On the other hand St. Paul continually uses it in a quite neutral sense, 1 Cor. xv. 39; Eph. vi. 5, and this even where there is a contrast to spirit, 1 Cor. ix. 11 ('reap carnal things'). And most important of all, just as St. John speaks of the Word made flesh, so St. Paul speaks of Christ as come in the flesh (Rom. i. 3; 1 Tim. iii. 16; in Rom. viii. 3 the phrase 'likeness of sinful flesh' does not deny the reality of Christ's fleshly body, but its sinfulness). We conclude therefore that while the flesh is the vehicle and seat of sin, and may in certain contexts be a synonym for man left to himself, apart from God and grace, it is not really regarded by St. Paul as necessarily sinful in itself. If it were so, the Incarnation would have been impossible, and the Christian idea of salvation and holiness as something capable of present realization would be absurd. A close parallel to St. Paul's use of *flesh* is found in St. John's use of the *world*, as human society organized apart from God. Neither of them affirm that matter, which is God's creation (1 Tim. iv. 4; John i. 3) is inherently evil.

18 things that ye would. But if ye are led by the Spirit, ye
 19 are not under the law. Now the works of the flesh are
 manifest, which are *these*, fornication, uncleanness, lasciv-
 20 viousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife, jealousies,

The true contrast indeed is not between the material and the immaterial, so much as between the earthly and heavenly, the natural and spiritual, the merely human and the divine.

that ye may not do the things that ye would] Does this mean that the Spirit checks the sinful desires of the unregenerate man, or that the flesh prevents our complying with the promptings of conscience? The parallel passage in Rom. vii. 9-25, especially vv. 15, 16, is decisive for the second view; we cannot do what the true self desires to do. 'Video meliora proboque; deteriora sequor.' The clause 'for these are contrary', &c. is parenthetical, and 'that' means 'so that', as in A.V. We remember also that the power 'to do what he will' is a characteristic of the emancipated slave; see note on iv. 7.

18. **led by the Spirit]** Rom. viii. 14.

not under the law] See note on v. 23. Rom. vii. 21-23 is perhaps an expansion of this verse; the regenerate, spiritual man is free from the harassing conflict which is characteristic of the man 'under law'.

19. **which are these]** For similar lists of sins, see Rom. i. 29 ff.; xiii. 13; 1 Cor. v. 10, 11, vi. 6, 10; 2 Cor. xii. 20 f.; Eph. iv. 31 ff.; Col. iii. 5-8; 1 Tim. i. 9, 10; 2 Tim. iii. 2-5; Mark vii. 21 ff., and parallels. Similar catalogues are found in Plato and in Stoic writers, as well as in Philo; cf. also Wisdom xii. 3 ff., xiv. 22 ff.; 4 Macc. i. 20 ff., ii. 15 ff. (See Lietzmann on Rom. i. 31.) Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 320, points out that we have

from the popular side a parallel in the old counters, used in some game resembling draughts, which have on one side the name of a virtue or vice; from these lists may be compiled closely resembling some of the catalogues found in St. Paul.

It is impossible to classify this list very satisfactorily, nor is it exhaustive of all possible sins. Ramsay divides into three groups of sins connected with (1) heathen religions (*fornication . . . sorcery*), (2) municipal life (*enmities . . . envyings*), (3) social life (*drunkenness, &c.*). Ltf. divides at the same points, but splits up class (1) into two groups, (a) sensual passions, (b) unlawful dealings with things spiritual; also he refers class (2) to religious dissensions.

In A.V. the list begins with *adultery*; and *murders* is inserted after *envyings*; but neither word seems to belong to the true text, though there is some doubt about the latter.

fornication] St. Paul always finds it necessary to warn Gentile converts very plainly against sins of the flesh; e.g. 1 Thess. iv. 4, 5; 1 Cor. v. vi. The standard of the heathen world was very low, and various kinds of immoralities were practised in the heathen temples in connexion with religion, as they are now in India; for fornication and idolatry see Acts xv. 20, 29.

uncleanness, lasciviousness] Ltf. distinguishes the latter as the open parade of vice, shocking public decency, opposed to hidden impurity; cf. 2 Cor. xii. 21.

20. **idolatry, sorcery]** See Rev. xxi. 8; the latter is illicit communing with demons.

enmities] The stress laid on these

21 wraths, factions, divisions, ¹heresies, envyings, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I ²forewarn you, even as I did ²forewarn you, that they which practise such things shall not inherit the kingdom of
 22 God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace,
 23 longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness,
 24 ³temperance: against such there is no law. And they

¹ Or, parties² Or, tell you plainly³ Or, self-control

sins in this list is very remarkable; in no other list do they hold so prominent a place. We do not know what may have been the special reason for this in Galatia (cf. vv. 15, 26, vi. 3-5), nor whether the tendency to quarrel was connected with politics (Ramsay), or religion (Ltf.).

strife, jealousies, wraths, factions] In the same order in 2 Cor. xii. 20.

factions] Properly 'the canvassing of hired partisans', i.e. the party temper at its worst.

heresies] Organized parties, with no necessary reference to false doctrine.

drunkenness, revellings] Rom. xiii. 13. We might have expected that these would have been mentioned after idolatry, since orgiastic carousals were often a feature of religious feasts; see Eph. v. 11 f.

even as I did] See i. 9.

the kingdom of God] This phrase, which is so common in the Gospels, is rare in St. Paul; cf. Rom. xiv. 17; 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, xv. 50; it is here spoken of as still future. From these passages and 1 Thess. iv. 1 ff.; Rom. vi. 17 we see that an outspoken ethical teaching formed part of St. Paul's elementary message.

22. the fruit of the Spirit] The contrast to '*works* of the flesh' (v. 19) is intentional. St. Paul does not wish to speak of *works* in connexion with the Spirit; he implies that the virtues are the inevitable

growth from the indwelling power. The list which follows must have come as a surprise; his readers would expect such things as prophecy, tongues, and miracles. It is to be noted that in an age when these phenomena were common and highly prized, St. Paul insists rather on the quieter, less showy, and more permanent gifts of character, which are the real 'gifts of the Spirit' in every age; cf. 1 Cor. xiii.

With Ltf. we may divide the nine into three groups of three, (1) habits of mind, (2) social qualities, (3) general principles of conduct.

longsuffering, kindness, goodness] Passive patience, a kindly disposition, and active benevolence.

23. faithfulness] The same word as *faith*, but used here in its general O. T. sense of honesty, fidelity; cf. Matt. xxiii. 23, Titus ii. 10, and see notes on iii. 9, 11.

meekness] Joined with *faithfulness* in Eccus. xlv. 4 (of Moses). The specially Christian trait of not standing on one's rights; Matt. v. 5.

temperance] In the wide sense of 'self-control' (marg.) of all passions, which the Greek word implies.

against such there is no law] See v. 18. In these qualities there is nothing that needs restraint, law can find no opportunity of exercising its function. The best comment is 1 Tim. i. 9, 'law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and unruly'.

that are of Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with the passions and the lusts thereof.

25 If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk.

26 Let us not be vainglorious, provoking one another, envying one another.

VI 1 Brethren, even if a man be overtaken in any tres-

24. **crucified the flesh**] See note on ii. 20, and cf. vi. 14; Rom. vi. 6 (where 'the old man' takes the place of 'the flesh'). The passages are important as shewing that St. Paul's conception of the Atonement is directly ethical and personal.

the passions and the lusts] Or *affections*; cf. 1 Thess. iv. 5; Col. iii. 5. Both Greek words may be used in a neutral sense, like *sarx* (flesh) itself, but tend to be used mainly of sinful desires, as do the English words; but in itself *lust* only means *desire*.

25. **by the Spirit let us also walk**] Takes up v. 16; the Greek word for *walk* is here different, but the variation seems to have no special significance. St. Paul connects the idea of walking by the Spirit with the fact which from iii. 2 onwards has been the foundation of his argument, and common ground to his readers and himself, namely that the Christian is one who has received, and lives by, the Spirit. Such passages as this are instructive as shewing the blending of the ideal with actual fact. Ideally the Christian is a saint; being inspired and possessed by the Spirit, and having crucified the flesh, he would sin no more. Practically St. Paul found sins, even of a gross nature, in every Church, and knew that he would find them; he fears even for himself, 1 Cor. ix. 24 ff. He never shared the belief, which in *Hermas* is quite seriously entertained, that no sin is to be expected after

baptism. At the same time he insists on the ideal, and calls on all to realize it to the fullest possible extent.

26. **Let us not be vainglorious**] As remarked on v. 15, St. Paul clearly has in mind some special circumstance of the Galatian Church.

VI. 1-5. All cannot reach the ideal; there will be faults in the Church. The higher we may climb ourselves, the more we must cultivate sympathy and humility. Once more we do not know what particular circumstances were the occasion of these verses. The case of the Corinthian offender in 2 Cor. ii. 6-8 is an interesting illustration of the principles laid down, but it cannot be directly referred to here; it had nothing to do with the Galatians, nor is there any reason to suppose they were acquainted with it. And, of course, on our view of the date of the Epistle, the incident had not yet taken place, nor can it be used as an argument for a later date, since, in any case, these verses must refer to something which was taking place in Galatia itself.

1. **Brethren**] Not conventional, but a reminder of the bond which enforces the exhortations which follow.

overtaken] 'Overpowered by a sudden temptation'; or better, 'surprised, or detected in the act', so that there could be no doubt

- pass, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in a spirit of meekness; looking to thyself, lest thou also be
 2 tempted. Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil
 3 the law of Christ. For if a man thinketh himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself.
 4 But let each man prove his own work, and then shall he have his glorying in regard of himself alone, and not of

about his guilt; cf. Wisdom xvii. 17, and the word from the same root in John vi. 17, viii. 3, xii. 35; 1 Thess. v. 4.

ye which are spiritual] We gather from 1 Cor. ii. 13, 15, iii. 1, xiv. 37 that in Corinth a certain section claimed this title for itself; the same may have been the case in Galatia. The 'spiritual' Christians would be the 'liberal party', as opposed to the formalist Judaizers; they insisted on the fact of their possession of the Spirit, and probably claimed a certain independence, as being able to walk by their inner light. St. Paul, then, uses the word half-ironically, 'you who claim to possess the Spirit', just as he speaks of those who are 'perfect', 1 Cor. ii. 6; Phil. iii. 15, or 'strong', Rom. xv. 1. He assumes also that those who are specially gifted with the Spirit will be recognized as the authoritative leaders of the Church.

restore] The word is a medical term, used of setting a broken limb; the object is to heal, not to amputate. The process may, however, include reproof, or even punishment; cf. 2 Thess. iii. 15.

spirit of meekness] Cf. 1 Cor. iv. 21.

looking to thyself] Cf. the warning in 1 Cor. x. 12, which is also addressed to the 'spiritual' who argued that their initiation into the Christian mysteries safeguarded them against sin.

2. **Bear ye one another's**

burdens] A reference to the legalist controversy. If you want to take upon you the burdens of a law (Luke xi. 46; Acts xv. 10, 28), here they are. Or perhaps, since the words seem to be addressed to the 'spiritual', 'you realize that you are free from the burdens of one law; but you must bear the burdens of another'; Rom. xv. 1-3. *Burdens* means heavy weights, i.e. the anxieties, troubles, temptations, and sins of others.

the law of Christ] The reference is not directly to the teaching of Jesus as preserved in the Gospels or oral tradition, but to the law of the Messiah, the new law of the Kingdom; cf. v. 13, 14; Rom. iii. 27, viii. 2; 1 Cor. ix. 21; James i. 25, ii. 12, where the law of Christ, or faith, or life, or liberty is directly or implicitly contrasted with the old law of Moses.

3-5. Still referring to the 'spiritual'. A man must not make high claims for himself without reason; he must test his own work as it is in itself, and not by comparison with his neighbour's failure. Here each must continue to bear the responsibility for his own good and bad actions.

4. **prove his own work]** See 1 Cor. iii. 11 ff. (the testing of work), xi. 28; 2 Cor. xiii. 5. One of the chief sources of spiritual pride is the habit of comparing ourselves with others, of whose difficulties and drawbacks we can know little.

5 ¹his neighbour. For each man shall bear his own ²burden.

6 But let him that is taught in the word communicate
7 unto him that teacheth in all good things. Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man
8 soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth unto his own flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he

¹ Gr. *the other*.

² Or, *load*

5. burden] Not the same word as that used in *v.* 2; the latter word seems to imply a weight which a man may take up or not, as he will; this is a load which he must continue to bear. It means the responsibility for his 'work', his good and bad actions, of which he cannot rid himself and which no other can share (*Ps.* xlix. 7); this he must continue to carry (N.B. the future tense) along the road which lies before him.

Apparent contradictions, similar to that between this verse and *v.* 2, are found in 2 *Cor.* xii. 10; *Phil.* ii. 12, 13; these examples, however, are easier to understand, since the contradiction occurs in the same sentence, and is obviously intentional.

6. let him that is taught] The previous verses have been addressed to the leaders of the Church; now St. Paul turns to the learner, the babe in Christ. The word used is 'catechumen', but of course it has not its later technical sense of one under instruction for baptism.

communicate] *Rom.* xv. 26; *Heb.* xiii. 16.

in all good things] Clearly temporal goods; cf. 1 *Cor.* ix. 11; *Luke* i. 53, xvi. 25. The claim of the teacher of the Word for support is often insisted on by St. Paul, 1 *Thess.* ii. 6, 9; 1 *Cor.* ix. 11; 2 *Cor.* xi. 7 ff.; *Phil.* iv. 10 ff.; 1 *Tim.* v. 17 ff. It seems to be implied here that the catechist has no

time to earn his own living by following a trade, and that a special 'order' of teachers is in existence, *Acts* xiii. 1; 1 *Cor.* xii. 28; *Eph.* iv. 11; 2 *Tim.* ii. 2. In *Acts* xiv. 23 we learn that St. Paul had in fact appointed 'elders' in the Galatian Churches.

7 ff. The application of the proverb of sowing and reaping in 2 *Cor.* ix. 6 to the special case of almsgiving suggests at first that these verses are closely connected with *v.* 6. 'By your charitable deeds lay up treasure in Heaven.' But this limited application does not do justice to *vv.* 8, 9. It is better then to begin a new paragraph at *v.* 7, and to regard *vv.* 7-10 as a summary of the ethical teaching begun in *v.* 13. 'So far from shielding self-indulgence or idleness, the principle of freedom leaves the great cosmic law of retribution unimpaired' (Bacon). St. Paul is enforcing the great principle of love (*v.* 13, 14) in its practical application; *vv.* 1-6 have already given special examples of that principle.

7. mocked] The word means 'to turn up the nose at.' The principles of freedom, and sonship, and justification by the free grace of God, do not leave us with an easy-going God, who is blind to sin and selfishness, and will suspend the eternal laws for our special benefit.

8. unto his own flesh] Ltf. supposes a change of metaphor

that soweth unto the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap
 9 eternal life. And let us not be weary in well-doing:
 10 for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not. So
 then, as we have opportunity, let us work that which is
 good toward all men, and especially toward them that
 are of the household of the faith.

11 See with how large letters I ¹ have written unto you

¹ Or, *write*

from the seed sown (v. 7) to the soil on which it is sown. But the parallel with 'unto the Spirit' makes this interpretation difficult. It is better to understand 'with a view to the flesh', i.e. for the indulgence and furtherance of his personal fleshly, or worldly, interests; cf. v. 13; Col. ii. 23. For the thought in general, see Rom. vi. 23.

9. **be weary**] Cf. 2 Thess. iii. 13. The harvest, the advent of the Kingdom, and the final entry into eternal life, may seem to be long delayed, but its coming is certain; cf. James v. 7.

10. **as we have opportunity**] Better, *while*; cf. John xii. 35. Use the time for sowing while it is here; it will be too late when the harvest comes.

household of the faith] Cf. Eph. ii. 19, and, for the Church as the house of God, 1 Tim. iii. 15; 1 Pet. iv. 17. The verse is the Christian version of 'charity begins at home'; cf. Rom. xii. 13, 'communicating to the necessities of the saints'. But *all men*, and *especially* shew that St. Paul does not mean it to stay there. Ultimately there is no limit to the love of the Christian, and the field of its exercise is as wide as the world, but he has special and primary duties to his fellow Christians. The application of the principle will depend on circumstances. The verse cannot be used as a guide to the dispensing of

'charity' in the present day, when denominational relief in fact hinders the growth of the Church and the true interests of religion.

11-end. A final autograph postscript, emphasizing the main purpose of the letter.

11. **See with how large letters**] So R. V. rightly. The 'how large a letter' of A. V. is impossible grammatically, nor is *grammata* the usual word for letter in the sense of epistle; it means the written characters. The reference then is to the actual form of the letters as written in St. Paul's manuscript. He usually followed the custom of the ancient world and dictated his letters to an amanuensis; cf. Rom. xvi. 22, 'I Tertius, who wrote the epistle'; similarly 1 Peter was dictated to Silvanus (v. 13). Frequently, however, he added an autograph greeting, 2 Thess. iii. 17, 18 (a safeguard against forgery); 1 Cor. xvi. 21; Col. iv. 18. Numerous papyri letters offer an exact parallel, the signature, or some endorsement, being added in autograph by the sender. In most cases it is not expressly mentioned that this is being done; the fact simply appears from the difference in the handwriting. This suggests that St. Paul may have signed all his letters (cf. 2 Thess. iii. 17, 18), even where he does not expressly add a remark to this effect. There are examples of autograph additions in Cicero, *ad*

12 with mine own hand. As many as desire to make a fair show in the flesh, they compel you to be circumcised; only that they may not be persecuted ¹ for the cross of

¹ Or, *by reason of*

Attic. viii. 1. 1, and Augustine, *Epist.* 146. It is probable then that in this verse St. Paul is calling attention to his autograph conclusion, which extends to the end of the Epistle; in this case 'I have written' is the 'epistolary Aorist' = 'I write', R. V. marg.; cf. Philem. 19, 21; 1 Pet. v. 12.

It is possible, however, that St. Paul is calling attention to the fact that he has written the whole letter with his own hand; in this case 'I have written' is the right translation, though the reference in *large* is still to the size of the characters, not to the length of the letter. He had departed from his usual custom of employing a scribe, in order to emphasize his personal interest in the Galatians, and the trouble he was ready to take on their behalf. In the same way a man who normally uses a secretary or typewriter will under special circumstances write a letter with his own hand. Julius Africanus remarks that 'the ancients used to write with their own hand to their dearest friends, or else add a very long postscript' ('scribere, vel plurimum subscribere'); and Plutarch says that Cato wrote histories for his son 'in his own hand and in large letters' (see Moffat, *Intr. to the Lit. of the N. T.*, p. 88). We must therefore leave it an open question whether St. Paul is referring to the whole letter, or the postscript.

Again, we cannot be sure why St. Paul refers to the size of his handwriting, or what may have been the cause of it. It has been suggested that his hand had been injured by his sufferings, or become

clumsy by his trade, or that he was unaccustomed to wielding a pen; in any of these cases he might write a large awkward hand. Or again the fact is connected with the supposed weakness of his eyes (see note on iv. 13). Whatever the cause, it is supposed, on the assumption that the words refer *only* to the postscript, that he is calling attention to the contrast between his own writing, and the neat hand of the practised amanuensis; he thus emphasizes the personal trouble he is taking, or, by a reference which his readers would understand, reminds them of the pathos of his position. It is not, however, probable that he refers to this contrast in the words 'make a fair show in the flesh' (v. 12), or again, that he is humorously suggesting that he is writing in big letters, as one might to children.

A different explanation is that St. Paul is imitating the large characters used at the beginning and end of public notices, in order to attract attention. This gets rid of the objection that it is not altogether probable that St. Paul's ordinary handwriting would be awkward and uneducated. On this view the words only refer to the postscript, which is written intentionally in a large hand to emphasize its importance.

12. a fair show in the flesh]

Not literally, but in the sphere of outward and worldly things; cf. v. 8. St. Paul here returns to the Judaizers; their real object is to avoid the stumblingblock of the Cross. The legalist Christians escaped persecution; see note on v.

13 Christ. For not even they who ¹receive circumcision do themselves keep ²the law; but they desire to have you circumcised, that they may glory in your flesh.
 14 But far be it from me to glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through ³which the world hath been
 15 crucified unto me, and I unto the world. For neither is circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new
 16 ⁴creature. And as many as shall walk by this rule, peace *be* upon them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God.

¹ Some ancient authorities read *have been circumcised*.² Or, *a law*³ Or, *whom*⁴ Or, *creation*

11; hence their compromise arises from cowardice.

13. **they who receive circumcision**] The new converts to Judaism, who perhaps, after the manner of converts, were more zealous than the original Jews. Or the words may mean, esp. if the variant 'who have been circumcised' (R. V. marg.) be adopted, 'the circumcision-party'; cf. ii. 12. It is impossible to say what is the reference in the following words; no doubt it is to some recognized inconsistency which proves (*for*) that their motive is not after all zeal for the law, but fear. A reference to the *difficulty* of keeping the law (iii. 10-12) is hardly in place here.

glory in your flesh] By gaining proselytes (Matt. xxiii. 15) and increasing their party, based on the observance of the outward fleshly rite of circumcision; cf. Phil. iii. 3, 4. Probably the thought is of a present glorying in the eyes of men, though Bacon and others understand the words of winning merit before God at the last day, Dan. xii. 3.

14. **far be it from me to glory**] A double opposition between glorying in the Cross and in the flesh, and between pride in the Cross and fear of persecution on its account, *v.* 12.

crucified] See ii. 20 (note), *v.* 24.

15. **neither is circumcision anything**] In later MSS. the words 'in Christ Jesus' and 'availeth' (A. V.) have been added from *v.* 6. For the phrase, cf. 1 Cor. vii. 19. Euthalius and other writers say that the words are a quotation from the *Revelation of Moses*; they are not, however, found in the extant *Assumption of Moses*, and the phrase is radically Pauline and Christian.

a new creature] A Rabbinic phrase for the convert brought to the knowledge of God; in 2 Cor. *v.* 17 the word is concrete and refers to the individual, 'if any man is in Christ Jesus, he is a new creature'; so elsewhere in N. T. But R. V. marg. *creation* is more natural here; the *new birth* is the contrast to circumcision. For the idea of the 'new man', cf. 2 Cor. iv. 16; Eph. ii. 10-15; iv. 24; Col. iii. 10.

16. **this rule**] The principle laid down in *vv.* 14, 15; cf. Phil. iii. 16, where rule ('canon') is interpolated in some texts from this passage.

peace . . . upon Israel] A quotation from Ps. cxv. 5, cxviii. 6, no doubt used in the synagogue and temple worship in St. Paul's day; it occurs in the modern Jewish Prayer Book. St. Paul adds

17 From henceforth let no man trouble me: for I bear branded on my body the marks of Jesus.

mercy; possibly the meaning is peace now, and mercy at the last day.

the Israel of God] The phrase gathers up the claim which has been implied throughout, that the Church is the true Israel, as representing the seed of Abraham. The phrase is unique in the N. T.; cf. Rom. ix. 6; Phil. iii. 3; see Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, i. pp. 301 ff., on the Church as the new Israel.

17. From henceforth] Perhaps, with Zahn, 'of the rest [those who are not the true Israel] let no man trouble me'; cf. Acts v. 13. St. Paul recurs to the subject of the first part of the Epistle, the attacks on his apostleship. His last word is that he is 'branded' as the true follower of his Master.

the marks of Jesus] The *stigmata*. Various explanations have been given of the underlying metaphor. (1) That it is taken from the branding of slaves; but in fact it was only runaway, or disgraced, slaves who were so treated; they were called *stigmatiai*, a name of contempt. And St. Paul always calls himself the servant of Christ, not of Jesus (R.V. here gives the right reading). (2) That it refers to soldiers branded with the name of their commander, a practice of which there is not much evidence. (3) Almost certainly St. Paul is adapting a formula actually found in heathen amulets and incantations. In a magical papyrus the following occurs: 'Do not persecute me. . . I bear the mummy of Osiris. . . If so and so trouble me, I will cast it before him'; the words italicized are those used* by St. Paul. See Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 346 ff.,

and Zwaan, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1905, p. 418. Those devoted to the service of a deity, or attached to a temple, were often branded, and regarded as immune from molestation. Herod. ii. 113 says 'on whomsoever the sacred marks (*stigmata*) are placed, he gives himself to the God, and he may not be touched'. In 3 Macc. ii. 29 Philopator tries to compel the Alexandrian Jews to be branded with an ivy-leaf as the emblem of Dionysius; Philo and Lucian give similar cases. So in Rev. xiii. 16, 17, &c. the mark whether of the Beast or the true God, shews to what deity the person belongs. The *stigmata* then prove to all men that St. Paul is the servant of the God Jesus, dedicated to Him and under His protection; cf. the note on emancipation of slaves, iv. 7.

What are the *stigmata*? Almost certainly the scars of persecution and exposure. He has shared the earthly sufferings of Jesus (cf. 2 Cor. iv. 10; Phil. iii. 10; Col. i. 24); when St. Paul uses this name he always refers to the earthly life of our Lord. Or a reference to some relic of his conversion, e.g. the scars of his blindness, would be appropriate. He bases his apostleship on his conversion (i. 16), and carries upon him the visible reminder and proof of the fact.

A literalistic interpretation of the passage led to the line of thought exemplified in the famous *stigmata* of St. Francis of Assisi; the marks of Jesus became the actual scars of the crucifixion in hands and feet and side.

Chrysostom suggests that *bear* means 'bear triumphantly as a

18 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brethren. Amen.

trophy', but in view of the use of the word in charms, this can hardly be justified.

18. **The grace]** The valediction is short, but affectionate. *Grace* is appropriate to the thought of the Epistle, but in view of its general use in Christian salutations (see on i. 3), it can hardly be pressed. Nor

is *with your spirit* opposed to *flesh*; cf. Phil. iv. 23; Philem. 25; 2 Tim. iv. 22.

brethren] Emphatic and significant, as closing the sentence; cf. vi. 1. The subscriptions to the Epistles in A.V. are of varying date, but never original, or of independent value.

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